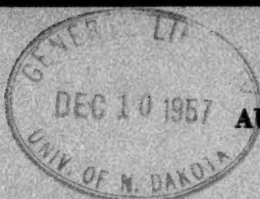


VOLUME XXXV



AUTUMN 1957

Public Administration

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**JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF
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1914-1956

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Haldane the Man

By THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT WAVERLEY, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., F.R.S.

This essay and the four which follow it are based on the lectures delivered in Autumn, 1956, under the auspices of the Royal Institute of Public Administration, to mark the centenary of the birth of Viscount Haldane of Cloan.

IT is my task in this essay to write on the subject of Haldane the Man. Subsequent contributions will deal with law, education, defence, and the machinery of government.

In writing of Haldane I have the advantage of having known him personally in several phases of his highly diversified career. I think I first came into close touch with him in the early part of the 1914-18 war. I was then Secretary to the Insurance Commission, and had undertaken in that capacity to take such measures as might be possible to ensure the continued supply to panel patients of necessary drugs and medicines for which we had been dependent to a very unfortunate extent on Germany. The Government was faced with a similar problem in regard to materials needed for the manufacture of explosives and other war-like purposes, and Lord Haldane—in view of his previous experience as War Minister, and particularly of his membership of a Committee on Explosives which sat for four years in the early part of the century—had been invited to handle that matter. This he did in association with Lord Moulton, and the two of them sought my collaboration because of the not dissimilar task in which I was already engaged, and also, I suppose, because I happened to be one of the few senior Civil Servants with any extensive knowledge of chemistry.

Then, some years later, I came again into touch with him in connection with the work of the Committee on the Machinery of Government over which he presided. In a section of the Report of that Committee, which, he has told us, he wrote with his own hand, an extensive rearrangement of the work of the Home Office and of the Lord Chancellor's Department was recommended as a first step towards the establishment of a Ministry of Justice. There is no doubt that this was a reform on which he had set his heart, but it is interesting to recall that when in 1924 he became Lord Chancellor for the second time he sent for me, I being then permanent head of the Home Office, and in the course of conversation about the relations between the two Departments remarked, with a rather wistful smile, "I think we had better quietly forget what was in that Report."

Later still I sat under his chairmanship on a committee dealing with research in connection with air raid precautions. Other members of that committee were Professor J. B. S. Haldane, Professor F. A. Lindemann (later Lord Cherwell), Professor G. I. Taylor, the Master General of the Ordnance, the Air Marshal responsible for Supply, and a member of the Board of Admiralty. Various modern developments were discussed, such as radio control, the possible use of radar for cutting out aircraft engines, proximity fuses, and the like. Haldane took a keen personal interest in all these matters.

In all these contacts I could not fail to be impressed both by the breadth of his knowledge and by his ardent desire to get things done. The same

impression is given by the series of addresses with which he inaugurated no fewer than four sessions of the Institute of Public Administration. It was my privilege to take the chair on several of these occasions.

Haldane's Character

After this introduction let me turn to deal with some outstanding features of Haldane's life and character.

The atmosphere in which he spent his early life was sternly Calvinistic. As I think often happens in such cases, he reacted violently against it: not, however, as a libertine. I must here describe a rather curious incident because of the light that it throws on his later development. He had not been baptised in infancy, and at the age of 18, just after he had returned from his first term at Göttingen University, it came to his knowledge that his father was much concerned at the thought of his growing to full manhood unbaptised. He therefore fell in with a plan to have the ceremony performed at the Baptist church which the family normally attended when in Edinburgh. I now quote his own words:

"I told them all openly that I would not refuse to go through the ceremony, but that I should make a definite explanation the moment it was over. I rose dripping from the font, and, facing the congregation, announced to them that I had consented to go through what had taken place only to allay the anxiety of my parents, but that now, as those present might have misunderstood, I must say something to them. It was that I could not accept their doctrines; that I regarded what had taken place as the merest external ceremony; and that for the future I had no connection with the church, or its teaching, or with any other church."

I must suppose that he cannot have realised how deeply his attitude must have distressed his parents. It was, however, characteristic of him to be acutely sensitive in some respects and quite insensitive in others. For example, he has told us that on his first visit to Germany he was "particularly distressed" to see a woman and a dog drawing along the street a cart containing a man and a calf. There was nothing, of course, very extraordinary in that. I am reminded of an Indian who rode into Dawson City, when I was there, with his squaw plodding behind carrying the papoose and all the household goods, and when asked why his wife did not ride, replied quite simply: "She got no horse." It may have been the same man who, when he rode alone into White Horse and someone asked him where his wife was, replied: "Oh, she paddle canoe; she got no money."

On the other hand, Haldane seems to have been unable to understand until too late what people had been feeling about what they supposed to have been his attitude towards Germany during the first world war. I have wondered whether such insensitiveness might not have been the cause of the rather tragic breaking off of his engagement to a young lady to whom he was very deeply attached. He was aged 34 at the time—here is the story in his own words:

"I had fallen deeply in love with a remarkable girl of distinguished quality and of good position. The response to me on her side came slowly, but

when it did come it seemed to have come very surely. We had many tastes in common and much the same outlook on life and affairs. We became engaged in March, 1890, and there followed some weeks of unbroken happiness. Towards the end of April, I had left her, in order to return to my duties, after a visit we made together in Devonshire. Suddenly, without previous warning, and as a bolt from an unclouded sky, there came to me in London a note saying that all was over. She felt that she had misunderstood herself, and her decision to break the engagement must be taken as final. I could not realise what had happened."

Again:

"After five weeks of uninterrupted happiness, happiness, to the best of my judgment then and now, for her as well as for me, all was changed and at an end.

"My grief was overwhelming, for I had a strong sense of the irrevocableness of the decision. The shock upset me. But there was no moment in which I either blamed her or pitied myself. My feeling was that somehow I had failed. I had read and thought so much that I knew this might well have been so, notwithstanding that I was unconscious of it.

"To this hour I treasure the memory of these five happy weeks, and bless her name for the return she made in them to my devotion to her, and for the feeling inspired apparently in both of us. I came to realise afterwards, when the pain was past, that my love for her, though it failed, had brought to me not loss but great gain. For it enlarged the meaning and content of life for me."

It is abundantly clear that Haldane had great capacity for friendship. His autobiography abounds with references to life-long friends of both sexes in this country and in Germany. He and his mother, brother and sister were devoted to each other. Nor was he in any way unsociable. Dining out had great attractions for him, though it was a form of relaxation against which he thought fit to warn young men on the threshold of their career. He had a nice taste in wine—particularly claret—and with a view to improving his social equipment he at one time underwent what would seem to have been a rather laborious course of tuition in ballroom dancing. Incidentally, one of his fellow pupils, he has told us, was Elizabeth Garrett Anderson—a grave and distinguished member of the medical profession. The inclination, he says, as indeed one might have expected, was of brief duration.

Haldane's Philosophy

I have already quoted Haldane's declaration of his resolve to have no connection with any church. That does not, however, mean that he was irreligious. On the contrary, while he rejected revealed religion in any form he developed early, no doubt against a background of German philosophy, profound religious convictions. A few quotations will suffice to make this clear. Already, when he left Göttingen at the age of 18, "My mind," he writes, "had become concentrated on a search for light about the meaning of God, Freedom and Immortality." "My religious outlook was a genuine one. Its origin was a deep conviction that the more experience is spiritual

the more it is real. "God is not outside us but is within our breasts, an almighty ever-present Deity." "Originally under strong evangelical conviction I passed from the form of such conviction before I was eighteen years old." "The phenomena of life would be unintelligible unless there entered into the constitution of biological experience relations of a wholly different order from those of mechanism."

It seems appropriate here to add a word about the philosophy which dominated every aspect of his activities. "I think," he has said, "that I have in the main followed Leonardo da Vinci in the faith that it is even better to know than to be." Always he emphasised the importance of ideas which he described as of immense potency, and of enunciating principles before proceeding towards the practical solution of any problem. "No systematic knowledge is sufficient in itself unless it leads up to and points to first principles."

It was no doubt inevitable that his philosophical approach to practical problems should have been somewhat baffling to more pragmatic colleagues. He himself records a remark attributed to Campbell-Bannerman after his appointment to the War Office: "We shall now see how Schopenhauer gets on in the Kailyard"; and I have been assured that when a colleague in the 1924 Labour Government asked him, in a rather sneering way, whether he found that philosophy of his of any practical use, the reply was: "Well, I find it quite useful in dealing with ignorance with which I have to contend a great deal in these days." Seriously, however, the remarkable thing was that his philosophical bent led invariably towards, and not away from, practical achievement.

He was endowed with considerable physical and vast intellectual energy, and rejoiced to apply it in the pursuit of practical aims. The range of his activities was truly remarkable. His contributions at the War Office, in the law and in the fields of education and public administration are, as I have mentioned, the subject of later essays. But these subjects, many-sided as they are, by no means complete the story. Electricity, coal, explosives, Irish Home Rule, to give only a few examples, at one time or another claimed his attention.

Haldane and Politics

As a Parliamentarian he was not, on the whole, conspicuously successful. He has said himself that he had a poor voice and only a dubiously attractive personality. He was also at times too prolix. I recall F. E. Smith's remark of him as "in matter copious and even infinite." On the other hand he achieved by his speech on the Bill to establish the University of London (to which Dr. Lockwood refers on pages 235-236) an outstanding success. "In my experience," wrote the Prime Minister, "I have never known a case in which a single speech converted hostile and impressed indifferent opinion in the House."

It is indeed strange that with his unique record of achievement, his single-mindedness, his freedom from personal vanity and selfish ambition, he should have provoked so much hostility. The explanation perhaps is that people in general, though aware of his great gifts and outstanding services, did not understand him. Perhaps he did not sufficiently care. "Political success," he wrote, "is not to be an admired Minister surrounded by a devoted group

HALDANE THE MAN

of adherents. It is to have a belief that is true and leads others to follow it." At all events he seemed to lack at times what is called "political sense." This became very apparent, for example, on an occasion when he got into trouble over an amendment to a *Hansard* report, and he certainly failed to recognise the interpretation that was bound to be placed on his refusal—from, it may be stated, the highest motives—to publish a letter sent to him by Herr Ballin on the eve of the outbreak of war. He also, I think, was at fault in not realising at the time the political implications of the action taken by the Attorney-General, at the behest of the Cabinet, in withdrawing the proceedings against one Campbell in 1924. Another illustration that came to my notice personally may be worth mentioning. Haldane, as Secretary of State for War, had been called upon to act temporarily as Home Secretary. A crisis suddenly arose, as happens not infrequently in Home Office affairs. Haldane was in Scotland and was asked urgently for directions. He has confessed that he did not know what to do so he called his dog and went out for a walk, in the course of which light dawned. It was a question of preventing three ships from reaching a certain destination. He knew of no legal provision under which he could act, but recalling the maxim "*Salus populi suprema lex*," he issued the appropriate orders none the less and the crisis was averted. As he seemed disposed to regard this as something of a triumph I felt constrained to comment that to stretch the executive arm out too far is apt to lead to trouble.

It is notable that among his many interests Haldane did not include the developments leading up to what is now called the Welfare State. I think he found Lloyd George antipathetic, and he certainly considered that his ideas were often too hastily thrown together. In fact, the methods of work of the two men could hardly have presented a greater contrast.

Conclusion

In his latter years Haldane suffered greatly in health. An attack of iritis deprived him of the sight of one eye and the other was threatened. He also developed diabetes, to which he would undoubtedly have succumbed but for the timely discovery of insulin. He died in 1928 at the age of 72, having been active to the end and with, I venture to say, a much greater record of practical achievement in public affairs than any other statesman of his day and generation.

Haldane and the Law

BY THE RIGHT HON. EARL JOWITT, P.C.

Among the high offices held by Lord Jowitt was that of Lord Chancellor, which he occupied from 1945 to 1951.

IT is, I confess, a somewhat melancholy thought that there are but few persons still living who had a better opportunity of seeing at first hand Lord Haldane's work as Lord Chancellor than myself. I am very conscious, however, of my inability to make the best use possible of that opportunity. I wish that John Simon were still with us. He would have loved to do honour to Lord Haldane's memory: and he, of course, being twelve years older than myself, would have been able to speak with a far more intimate knowledge of Lord Haldane's work as Lord Chancellor from 1912 to 1915.

I was only called to the Bar in 1909, and though I was fortunate enough to establish a considerable practice within a few years of my call, yet it was only on rare and exceptional occasions that I found my way to what I then regarded as the formidable and rarified atmosphere of the Privy Council or the House of Lords. My regular field of activity was in the County Courts.

However, during Lord Haldane's second tenure of office as Lord Chancellor in 1923, and during the succeeding years when he used to preside as an ex-Lord Chancellor over the Privy Council or the House of Lords, I had the honour of appearing before him on very many occasions. I had taken silk in 1922, and by that time I had acquired a large practice which led me to both these Courts.

I am proud to think that he took an interest in me and I had the immense privilege of getting to know him personally. I am one of the very small number of lawyers still living who were bidden to dine with him at his charming house in Queen Anne's Gate. There I have listened to him recounting his early days at the Bar, telling of his heroes amongst the great judges of the past and discussing the problems concerning the administration of the Courts and his plans for their reorganisation; and when he had delivered himself on these topics I would lead him on to his early political recollections.

Haldane's Character

Looking back over a long life, during which I have had the opportunity of knowing many men who achieved a great position in this country, Haldane stands out in my memory. He was utterly devoid of conceit, and possessed the highest ideals. He was content with nothing that was second-rate, and he looked for happiness in seeking to do his very best in whatever task he undertook.

But it is not for me to write of the man: that has already been beautifully accomplished by Lord Waverley. Nor must I write of him as a philosopher, because I am in no way qualified to do so. I will merely say that if philosophy enables a man to endure, without becoming embittered, the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune—and of these Haldane had more than his share—it is indeed a noble study. I never heard Haldane say an unkind word about anyone.

Haldane at the Bar

I must come to my proper task and say something of Haldane's place as a lawyer.

He was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1879, and three years later he became devil to Davey (afterwards Lord Davey) who then enjoyed a great practice in the Chancery Division and in the Appellate Courts.

These two were, I should judge, exactly fitted to each other. Haldane possessed an accurate and scholarly mind. He was widely read in the law, he had a good memory, and he was prepared to devote all his energies—and they were considerable—to his work. He soon made himself indispensable to Davey and through him came into touch with many of the most eminent solicitors. In that way he began to acquire a practice of his own.

Haldane entered Parliament for East Lothian in 1885 and he sat for that constituency for an unbroken period of 27 years. In 1890 he took silk and elected to attach himself to the Court of Mr. Justice Kay who, on his promotion to the Court of Appeal, was succeeded by Mr. Justice Romer. In 1897—to use the legal jargon—he went special. I have heard it said that Haldane's junior practice being by no means so considerable as one might have expected, he decided to apply for silk; and that his practice as a silk, attached as he was according to the custom of those days to a particular court, not developing satisfactorily, he went special. From this I infer that he possessed confidence in his own power to make good in his chosen profession, and considerable courage and determination.

As a special he prospered particularly in the Appellate Courts. He was never, I think, at his best in the Courts of First Instance, where the facts have to be ascertained by the painful process of cross-examination. He had no particular skill as a cross-examiner. He liked to be given his facts and to work out the legal principles to which those facts gave rise.

He tells us in his autobiography that in his best year at the Bar he earned 15,000 guineas: and although there were fashionable leaders in those days who earned substantially larger incomes, it is surely the fact that such a sum (as prices and taxes stood fifty odd years ago) was a princely reward even for the most arduous labours.

As to his characteristics as an advocate, I can of course say nothing. He had ceased his practice before I was called to the Bar. But I have been told, both by Lord Oxford and Lord Dunedin, that he was regarded as a very formidable opponent by those who were against him.

He states in his autobiography what he regarded as the first canon of advocacy: if counsel is faced with a difficult point, let him state it in the very forefront of his case. To conceal it is foolish, for sooner or later it is certain to come out. If it is elicited for the first time either in the argument or during the cross-examination of his opponent, it will have a much more deadly effect than if it is frankly stated at the outset. By stating the point himself, by opening—as it were—the cupboard door and revealing the skeleton, counsel will gain the sympathy of the Court by his conduct and may even hope to stitch together a few clothes to cover the skeleton. I respectfully agree with Haldane.

He mentions a second point which reveals him as a good psychologist and

shows, too, that measure of shrewdness which we often find in his compatriots. If, for example, Lord Watson—a great judge and one of Haldane's heroes—took some point which seemed destructive of his case, Haldane would deliberately address himself to some less formidable judge and try to induce that weaker vessel to develop Lord Watson's point. Lord Watson would become restive when he heard it being developed less attractively, or perhaps even being bungled, and would become far less enthusiastic about the point than he had been when he first discovered it; finally, he would tend to find the answer to it and all would be well. Herein, no doubt, lay one of the secrets of this very successful advocate.

For the rest, I have been told that Haldane would never cite cases for the mere sake of citing them, though his knowledge of case law was very considerable. He would never quote a case without first stating with precision the principle which it illustrated: though he would, of course, always cite those cases which told against the principle for which he was contending. He adopted this same admirable principle when he became a judge, and those who study his judgments—and there are many to study—will, I feel sure, be impressed with this quality.

I will content myself with one illustration. It was a case in which the House of Lords was divided three to four; and the fact that Lord Haldane joined the four (the other three on his side were Loreburn, Shaw and Reading) against the dissentient three (Dunedin, Parker and Atkinson) of course settled the decision.

It was the famous case in which a schoolmaster employed in an Irish industrial school had, whilst engaged in his duty, been set upon by some unruly boys and assaulted in accordance with a preconceived conspiracy. From this assault the schoolmaster died and the question arose under the Workmen's Compensation Act whether his death arose by accident arising out of his employment.

I quote this passage from Haldane's judgment [1914 Appeal Cases, p. 680]:

"I will only add that I have not arrived at this conclusion without examining a number of authorities which I have not referred to specifically. Having regard to the conflict which exists between judicial opinions expressed in some of the decided cases, the only safe guide appears to me to be the language of the Act of Parliament itself. It is on what I conceive to be the dominating purpose that appears in the language of the Legislature that I base my own view."

I must add that the judges in the minority could find from first to last nothing remotely resembling an accident, but in judicial proceedings the majority is always right. It is, I believe, not always so in politics.

The Task of the Lord Chancellor

I pass on to consider the contribution Haldane made as Lord Chancellor. By far the most important task which falls upon the Lord Chancellor is the part he plays in the selection of judges. It is for him to make recommendations to the Sovereign as to the persons who should be appointed as puisne judges. Moreover, although the recommendation relating to the judges of the Court of Appeal and of the House of Lords—Lords Justices

and Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, to give them their proper titles—is under our constitution the function of the Prime Minister, yet it is obvious that he is bound to place the greatest reliance on the advice he derives from the Lord Chancellor; this would have been especially true in the case of a Lord Chancellor so universally respected as Haldane.

The importance of selecting the right men cannot be overemphasised. Haldane believed—and surely he was right in believing—that the strength of a democracy rests upon its administration of justice; and the administration of justice manifestly depends upon the ability, the personality and the character of its judges.

I suppose every Lord Chancellor has the same experience. The Chief Whip of his Party will come to see him. He will mention the names of certain Members of Parliament who practise the law and who have rendered yeoman service to the Party. He will ask the Lord Chancellor not to forget their claims to be selected as judges. He will state, and state truly, that service in Parliament has long been regarded as a road leading to the Bench, and he will point out that unless this principle is adhered to, the busy lawyer will not face the trouble and turmoil of political life.

To all such claims the Lord Chancellor must close his ears. He must recommend men solely on the basis of their merit, whatever party they may belong to, and he must be prepared to withstand the criticisms that may come to him for not giving preference to his own political friends.

He will inevitably make mistakes in his recommendations. Many a man who has been a good advocate will not prove a good judge: and the only material which a Lord Chancellor has to hand is his knowledge of the man as an advocate and the opinion of those judges who know him and can judge his legal qualifications.

I quote from Haldane's autobiography [page 253]:

“With Asquith's cordial assent we decided that in filling the vacancies we would appoint only on the footing of high legal and professional qualifications. The vacancies were filled on this basis, and my successors have adhered closely to the same principle. It is a principle of great importance for the administration of justice.”

In those days there was a regular Cabinet on Wednesdays, on which day the House of Lords did not sit judicially. The Lord Chancellor would always preside at the judicial sittings on other days of the week. This enabled him to keep in close touch with the Bar. He would hear all the foremost advocates. He would be able to form his own view of their personality and of their legal acumen: and this knowledge would be of great assistance to him in making his recommendations for appointment to the Bench.

On the other hand, a day spent in presiding over a Court involves, as I can certainly testify, a tiring and exacting task. However dull the proceedings may be, the President of the Court cannot let his attention flag: he must keep himself at concert pitch throughout. When the Court rises he will generally be tired, and not seldom exhausted.

To ask the Lord Chancellor thereafter to transfer immediately to the task of presiding over the House of Lords during its legislative proceedings is to ask a great deal: more especially if he is expected to take a prominent

part in those proceedings.

Haldane was 56 when he first became Lord Chancellor, and 67 when he was appointed for the second time. He always maintained—alike in his public writings and in his private conversation—that the task was too great. No man, he said, could be at his best under such a strain.

It was no doubt for this reason that in the Report of the Machinery of Government Committee we find this recommendation relating to the duties of the Lord Chancellor :

“ We think that he should, in the first place, be freed from the duty of daily or even frequent judicial sitting. There are cases which come before the Supreme Tribunals in which it is of much importance that the Judges should have that familiarity with constitutional usage which can never be acquired so well as in the school of long experience in Parliament. In appeals from the Dominions touching delicate questions in their constitutions this is peculiarly true ; and for this and other reasons we do not think that the Lord Chancellor should be divorced wholly from the duty of presiding over the Supreme Tribunals although it is obvious that his time should not be absorbed by ordinary cases ” [Paragraph 35].

That recommendation has in fact been adopted. As so often happens in the history of our constitutional development, it was adopted not deliberately but by the merest accident.

During the last war, owing to the difficulties of the black-out and so on, their Lordships started sitting at 2 p.m. for their legislative business. No doubt they were encouraged by their wives to lunch at the House so that they could have a meal off the ration : anyhow, once they acquired the habit of sitting at 2 p.m., nothing would induce them to go back to the old practice of meeting at 4 p.m.

Even the Lord Chancellor cannot be in two places at once. He cannot preside over the hearing of an appeal if he is to preside as Speaker over the political deliberations of their Lordships. In practice, therefore, since he has to give priority to the sittings of the House of Lords, he can only preside over the Court at times when the House is not sitting. In this way Lord Haldane's main recommendation has been carried out.

It has been said, whether truly or not I am not sure, that the Cabinet system owes its origin in large part to the fact that the early Georges spoke English with difficulty and were therefore not interested to attend meetings of their ministers. By such accidents have we developed.

Haldane and the Machinery of Justice

During my occupation of the Woolsack from 1945 to 1951 other changes were made, which Lord Haldane had recommended.

The House of Lords insisted that the Lord Chancellor should become responsible for the appointment of Recorders and of stipendiary magistrates, which had hitherto been a function of the Home Secretary. I never asked to be entrusted with this task—I was indeed anxious not to trespass on the Home Office's preserves—yet I confess that I think it is better so. This, too, is in accord with the recommendations of the Machinery of Government Committee. Further, the Judge Advocates of the Navy and Army have

come under the jurisdiction of the Lord Chancellor, as Haldane recommended.

The Machinery of Government report suggested also that, to assist him in his judicial appointments, the Lord Chancellor should have an advisory committee consisting of the Prime Minister, former Lord Chancellors, the Lord Chief Justice and the man who would have been appointed as Minister of Justice if this recommendation of the report had been carried out.

With this recommendation I should not agree so far as puisne judges are concerned: and if Lord Haldane were alive today, I do not believe he would agree. In the first place, the Prime Minister is far too busy to have this additional task thrust upon him; in the case of a puisne judge the Prime Minister would generally have no knowledge to enable him to express a useful opinion. Secondly, I would not prescribe the persons whom the Lord Chancellor is to consult.

I certainly never made a recommendation without very full consultations with those judges who, in my view, were best qualified to express an opinion. I never made a recommendation without discussing the proposal with, and obtaining the approval of, the President of the Division to which the new judge was to be attached—be he the Lord Chief Justice, the President of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division, or the senior judge of the Chancery Division. I feel fairly certain that my successors have adopted the same principle.

It must be remembered, however, that Haldane would have entrusted to the Lord Chancellor assisted by this committee (instead of to the Prime Minister) the appointments of the judges of the Court of Appeal and of the House of Lords.

I never had any difficulty in agreeing with my Prime Minister—on whom alone the responsibility rested—as to the persons who should be recommended for appointment to the appellate tribunals. In practice, the system worked admirably and it would, I suppose, always work well unless the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor were at loggerheads and did not trust each other. But as an abstract proposition I should agree with Haldane that the better system would be to entrust the appointment to the Lord Chancellor after consultation with the Prime Minister, rather than to the Prime Minister after consultation with the Lord Chancellor, which I assume would take place.

Haldane recommended that the Home Secretary should become Minister of Justice and that he should become responsible for all services connected with justice subject to the exceptions made in favour of the Lord Chancellor's Department. He would have transferred to other Ministries certain functions which then belonged to the Home Office.

In so far as the change is a mere change of title from Home Secretary to Minister of Justice, it is of course unimportant. But the report went further than this and recommended that the Home Secretary or Minister of Justice (by whatever name he may be called) should have a body of experts charged with the general duty of considering law reform.

I doubt whether this is practicable or desirable. Each Department knows—better than an expert sitting somewhere else—what law reforms are desirable in the matters with which it deals. If, for example, a question arises with regard to merchant shipping, the experts of the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation will be better able to say what reforms are desirable than any

expert of the Home Office : and if the question relates to the laws of lunacy, the experts of the Ministry of Health will be those best qualified to express an opinion.

The problem of government today is not that the various Departments are slow and lethargic in bringing forward their proposals, but that they all claim so large a part in the legislative programme that they have to be rationed. This is done by a committee presided over by the Lord President of the Council. Had there been greater Parliamentary time available and had there been more Parliamentary Draftsmen, I confess that I should have introduced many more bills connected with law reform. These are the bottlenecks which exist in practice today. If they could be removed, there would be no lack of projects for improving our legislation.

Looking back over the last forty years, it is not difficult to criticise some of Haldane's recommendations : and I have no doubt that he would himself have reconsidered many of them had he seen—as we have seen—how the system has developed in recent years. It is right to record that an immense number of the reforms he advocated have been carried out, and that the structure of our governmental machinery today owes much to his wisdom and to his power of constructive thought.

Judicial Committee of the Privy Council

I have said nothing as yet of the work of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council : I must certainly do so, for it was in this field that Haldane made his most valuable contribution. Before I describe this contribution, however, it may be helpful to the lay reader if I indicate briefly the composition and jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee and of the House of Lords in its judicial capacity.

Such differences as exist between the Judicial Committee and the House of Lords are unsubstantial, and are a matter of historical accident. The Lord Chancellor, ex-Lord Chancellors, and all the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary (commonly called the Law Lords), both past and present, sit both in the House of Lords in its judicial capacity and on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. A few persons who are not Peers and who therefore cannot sit in the House of Lords are members of the Judicial Committee. We have been fortunate enough from time to time to have available the assistance of someone who, having held high judicial office in one of the Dominions or in India, has been appointed a member of the Judicial Committee, and at the present time in hearing cases from Ceylon, we have the invaluable assistance of a distinguished judge from that country. But it frequently happens that the Court which is hearing appeals in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is composed of judges all of whom are qualified to sit in the House of Lords.

In addition to these slight differences between the two Courts in the composition of the Bench, there are variations in certain matters of practice and procedure. The Judicial Committee meets in Downing Street and not in the House of Lords. It delivers only one judgment, which is the judgment of the Court, so that dissentient judges do not get a chance of recording their dissent, still less of expressing their reasons for it, whereas in the House of Lords any individual judge can deliver his own judgment.

In form the judgment of the Judicial Committee is a "humble advice" to Her Majesty, and the decision becomes effective by being approved by Order in Council, whereas the decision of the House of Lords is given in the form of a judgment and does not need the formality of an Order in Council.

There are other small distinctions. The Lord Chancellor, when presiding over the House of Lords, wears his wig, and in the Judicial Committee he does not—a good example of the nature and quality of the differences between the two Courts.

The real difference between the two Courts lies in the area of their jurisdiction, for whereas the House of Lords hears appeals from the Courts in England, Scotland and Northern Ireland, the Judicial Committee hears appeals from the other parts of Her Majesty's Dominions, excluding those self-governing territories which have abolished the appeal to the Privy Council. Today, therefore, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council hears appeals from Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon and the Colonies, and the House of Lords has no jurisdiction to hear such appeals. In Haldane's time the Judicial Committee also heard appeals from Canada and India.

The demarcation of functions between the provinces of Canada and the central government, and between the Australian states and the government of the Commonwealth of Australia, owes as much to Haldane as to any of the judges of my generation. Here was a task which exactly fitted his genius, and he was able to bring to bear upon it the vast experience he had accumulated in the course of his political life. In this particular task his hard training in the House of Commons was of immense value.

You will remember the passage I have quoted from the Haldane Report recommending that, although the Lord Chancellor should be relieved of the burden of presiding regularly over judicial proceedings, he should endeavour to sit in cases raising constitutional issues.

I think we have lost a great opportunity in our failure to develop the Judicial Committee. The members of the British Commonwealth were—at any rate until India became a republic—bound together by their common allegiance to the Sovereign. That was perhaps the sole link remaining, apart from history and sentiment. Might we not have hoped that through the institution of a Great Commonwealth Court of Appeal, to which all the member States made their contribution, we could have forged a second link?

The first step would have been a merger between the House of Lords in its judicial capacity and the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Haldane contemplated that this would come about as a natural by-product of the reform of the House of Lords, then thought to be imminent; and he anticipated that this reform would result in the House losing its judicial function. It was, after all, only two years before Haldane first became Lord Chancellor that we had been told by Mr. Asquith that the reform of the House of Lords brooked no delay. The Haldane Report assumed that the reform of the House and the consequent loss of its judicial powers would soon come about. The way would then have been cleared for the new Court, which would have combined the functions of the House of Lords and of the Judicial Committee.

There would have been many difficulties. It by no means follows that one Dominion, though willing to submit its problems to judges drawn almost exclusively from the United Kingdom, would have been willing to submit them to judges coming from other Dominions. Perhaps the Court might have had to be peripatetic.

Lord Dunedin, in an appreciation of Lord Haldane's judicial work, said :

"Haldane would have liked to combine [the House of Lords and the Judicial Committee] in one Supreme Court ; but the difficulties were many, including the building of a new Court House, and though he held to his opinion firmly the matter never came within the range of practical politics."

Thus a great opportunity, which needed the drive and the inspiration of a Haldane, was lost ; and we no longer hear appeals from Canada, South Africa or India. This is a melancholy fact when considered in the light of the hopes that he entertained about the future of the Judicial Committee and the profound influence it might have in cementing together the component members of the Commonwealth.

He took infinite trouble to strengthen the Judicial Committee. He laid down the principle, which still prevails, that five judges should sit in appeals from the Dominions ; and he constituted the Court in such a way that its decisions would carry great weight amongst lawyers in all parts of the Commonwealth.

Haldane's Fame

Lord Dunedin—who, I would say, was the greatest judge before whom I ever practised—was on terms of close friendship with Haldane. I have heard each of these great men speak of the other in terms of warm appreciation. No one had a better opportunity to estimate Haldane's standing and capacity as a judge than Dunedin.

This is what Dunedin wrote about Haldane as a judge :

"It is a little difficult and a little invidious for a colleague who valued and enjoyed a close friendship with him to play the critic. It would be foolish to claim for him too high a place. He will not go down in lawyers' history as a Baron Parke or an Earl Cairns ; but I think it will be found, and more generally acknowledged as time goes on, that he was thoroughly sound in his judgments. He was, I think, very seldom wrong. In style he was perhaps too much of the philosopher, but he was very painstaking and not at all obstinate, and these two qualities generally lead to good results. Quite apart from personal affection for him, I found him always easy to deal with, for he would always listen if one had anything to say worth listening to. He was not abnormally quick, but he was very sure. I think his judgments will be found to wear very well."

Dunedin's prophecy was right. Haldane's judgments have been found to wear well.

There may have been greater judges ; but (from my own point of view) there has never been a judge before whom I more enjoyed conducting a case. He was the soul of courtesy, being ready to listen and willing to be convinced, and never jumping hastily to one side and then to the other.

Thus he brought about an air of informality without losing dignity. He never tried to display his cleverness or his superior learning, and in the result the Bar loved him ; and the Bar do not give their love easily.

He trusted the Bar and the Bar repaid his trust ; indeed in a very literal sense he fed them. When Haldane became Lord Chancellor there were no facilities for lunch on the premises of the Privy Council. Haldane arranged with Oddenino's to provide lunch on the premises for the Bar. This made a complete difference to the comfort of the Bar and gave them a chance to get to know each other ; this was especially valuable, as they frequently came from different parts of the world. Alas, Haldane has gone ; Oddenino's has gone—and the facilities for lunch have gone as well. A very small matter, you may think, to spend time on ; yet is it not sometimes true that very small things reveal a man's character ?

Haldane was a man who by his character and his achievements should have been held in very high regard by his fellow countrymen.

There were times in his life when—owing to party prejudices and unworthy propaganda—the recognition of his great services was not universally accorded to him. Looking back, now that political prejudices are forgotten, we have the satisfaction of knowing that his place in the temple of fame is secure and unquestioned.

Haldane and Education

By DR. JOHN F. LOCKWOOD

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IT is no distortion of truth to suggest that for a great part, probably the greater part, of the lifetime of Lord Haldane, politicians and Cabinets did not direct their attention with noticeable enthusiasm, except perhaps fitfully and even then not always from the right motives, to matters of education. These shortcomings I shall claim no entitlement here to analyse or to explain away. For me there is a pleasanter and a more positive task, since I am to write of one who was entirely free of such political myopia.

In his generation Haldane stood out as a man who not only understood the nature and extent of the national need for education but also was prepared to devote an abundance of his time, thoughts, and energy to the wholehearted purpose of satisfying the need. It would not be possible, I believe, to say with any assurance of certainty when the problem first attracted his interest. Possibly his year in Germany when in April, 1874, at the age of 17, following the advice of his Edinburgh professor he chose to study at Göttingen under the eminent philosopher Hermann Lotze, may have sown the first seed. But certainly by the year 1881 (he was now 25) a course of lectures which he delivered and a class which he took at the Working Men's College, Camden Town, show that his imagination had been captured. In the years which followed the seed developed and from then onwards for more than 40 years his interest grew and never wavered or faltered. In 1892, when a number of his friends in a Liberal Party group of which he was a member accepted office under Gladstone, Haldane would have declined office if it had been offered. Although in his *Autobiography* he modestly attributes his reluctance to the fact that he had taken silk in 1890 and was still uncertain about his future at the Bar, there can be little doubt that contributing factors were his fear that the Liberal Party and the Liberal Government were not more than lukewarm about education and other problems in which he was deeply interested and his desire to be able to pursue these matters unimpeded by the comparative apathy of ministerial colleagues.

In later years he spoke with a force and directness about his interests that reveals how profoundly his mind and convictions were engaged in them. In 1902 in an address at Edinburgh on "Universities and the Schools in Scotland" he said:

"I am interested in that subject" [education], "not merely because it is education, but for the reason that to me it appears the most important, without exception, of the great social reforms which await treatment at the beginning of the twentieth century. Educate your people, and you have reduced to comparatively insignificant dimensions the problems of temperance, of housing, and of raising the condition of your masses. These things solve themselves if you only get the right spirit into your people."¹

In a speech at the Manchester Reform Club in January, 1913, speaking of education as "the next and most urgent of the great social problems", he said:

"I long ago took off my coat to this business."²

Again in 1916 in the House of Lords he declared :

"For 20 years" [a modest understatement] "I have taken the deepest interest in education, and I have done all that I could, in and out of office, to advance the cause, often with very indifferent success."³

There speaks the man who, in the midst of other duties which in their range, seriousness, and complexity would have more than engrossed the intellect and industry of any other man, strove with a deeply ingrained rational and moral fervour to see his ambitions and ideals realised for the nation's good. And perhaps more striking still are the terms of a letter addressed in January, 1923, to Asquith in which he expressed his refusal to take part in a Liberal Party demonstration :

"There is a question of principle which for me is one of vital importance. My public life has for long been bound up with the cause of Education, more than with anything else. It is now so bound more than ever . . . I wish to see reforms of high quality carried out, and great standards maintained. Now I have observed for some time past that, with the vastly extended electorate, the inspiring power necessary for the attainment of these things is hopeless unless a systematic and far-reaching policy of enlightening the people and developing their minds is given a prominent place. . . . It was for this reason that three years ago I decided to work with whatever party was most in earnest with Education in its widest sense. . . . In the official programme, and even in your own speeches, I can find no response about the thing I care for before any other at this moment, and regard as the key to reform generally."⁴

In all his thinking on education, through practically all his working life several broad fields of interest are present. Sometimes one is dominant, sometimes another. At other times they appear inextricably joined together. It will be to four of these that my few pages will be devoted. First, higher education (especially University education); second, technical and technological education; third, adult education; and last, the wider aspect of education. I will end with a brief comment on his general educational philosophy.

National Need to Extend University Education

He had early come to a feeling of unease about the relatively weak position of Great Britain in the provision that it made for University education in comparison with other countries, particularly Germany. He was quick to see that in face of a period when commercial and industrial rivalry and competition in power were beginning to raise their heads and to hold out the threat of an unwelcome danger, the country should be vigorously developing its educational system, and above all should be extending University education and promoting the growth of Universities of the unitary civic type in the greater industrial cities. Only so could Great Britain begin to match the great work in science and its applications which Germany could show. The leaders of Germany, he observed, when she was at a low ebb last century "saw clearly that education was the key to all advance, and they set to work

to prepare for the education of the people. The work took 60 years to complete, but completed it was at last, with a thoroughness the like of which the world has hardly seen elsewhere."⁵ In what he knew to be the urgent national interest, from 1889 onwards he put his shoulder to a great wheel, which turned in time so well that, if we look now at the Universities of Bristol, Liverpool, London, Wales, Belfast, and the National University of Ireland (not to mention several others which might be regarded as his posthumous offspring), we can see the marks of his handiwork. I cannot tell the tale of all. Since I prefer to write of what I know best—London—I shall say only a word about some of the others. Of Bristol University he became the first Chancellor, of Liverpool he was often regarded as a parent. He presided over a Royal Commission on University Education in Wales, and the Report which issued from the Commission laid the foundation for a reorganised and revived University of Wales. Queen's University, Belfast, and the National University of Ireland have an odd link with London which will come out in telling London's story.

The University of London

In 1891 Haldane became a member of the Council of University College, London, serving until 1899. For some 20 years and more, talk, discussion, argument had been going on around the form of the University of London—then primarily in fact an examining body only. The core of the problem was the strongly felt desire in many quarters and especially among the professors and teachers in University and King's Colleges that "London should possess a teaching University with power to regulate higher education and the means of becoming a great seat of learning corresponding in its size and resources to the wealth and imperial position of the largest city in the world."⁶ But there was no agreement as to whether the problem should be solved by the establishment of a second University made up of the Colleges and their students, while keeping the existing University as an imperial degree-giving body which concerned itself only with the examination of candidates, or by some form of amalgamation of the two conceptions. The Government set up a Royal Commission under the Earl of Selborne which reported in 1889 that the case for a teaching University had been made out and expressed the opinion that the combination of the existing University with a new teaching University was not impossible. With some caution the Commissioners "recommended that a reasonable time should be allowed to the University to consider whether it would apply for a Charter extending the functions of the University to teaching on general lines suggested by them."⁷ As, owing to a conflict of view between Senate and Convocation (i.e., the graduates), no application was made for such a Charter, the Government in 1892 set up another Royal Commission under Lord Cowper. This Commission in its Report of 1894 was of substantially the same opinion as its predecessor. But it went a step farther in trying to effect a solution. It said somewhat wryly:

"In view of the failure of previous attempts to settle this question, and of the difficulty and delay which must inevitably attend an alteration of the constitution of the University through the action of the University itself, we are of opinion that, in accordance with the precedents followed in other cases of University reform, the changes which we recommend should be

effected not by Charter, but by legislative authority, and by the appointment of a Commission with statutory powers to settle, in the first instance, arrangements and regulations in general conformity with the recommendations which we are about to submit."⁸

The Government was slow to act. Haldane had been deeply impressed by the plea for a teaching University. He and Sidney Webb, who was then in charge of the Technical Education Board of the London County Council, joined forces. Two Bills were prepared and introduced in the House of Commons, but both failed. Before a third was presented, Haldane and Webb worked energetically to secure adequate backing.

"We laid siege to the citadel. We went round to person after person who was prominent in the administration of the existing University. Some listened, but others would not do so and even refused to see us. In the end we worked out what was in substance the scheme of the London University Act of 1898. The scheme was far from being an ideal one. It provided by way of compromise for a senate which was too large to be a really efficient supreme governing body for the new composite University, and it had other shortcomings of which we were well aware. But it did set up a teaching University, although Convocation, with its control of the external side, would remain unduly powerful. We saw that the scheme thus fashioned was the utmost we could hope for the time to carry, in the existing state of public opinion about higher education in London."⁹

He succeeded in enlisting the support of the Prime Minister, who undertook that the Government would introduce a Bill on the desired lines. However, the President of the Board of Education in introducing the Bill showed little enthusiasm. Speaker after speaker denounced it. Its prospects looked dark, when Haldane sprang to his feet, and, without a note, made what was probably his best speech in the House. "I spoke for once", he says, "like one inspired." I can quote only a short passage from the latter part.

"I know of no greater distinction that could be given to a man who has reached eminence in the profession of University teaching than to be marked as a professor of the great University of London, of that great metropolis, which has the largest number of students to draw upon, which has a scope and ambition such as is given to no other University, and which may be, and I believe will be, the greatest institution of its kind, if this Bill passes, in the whole world. . . . We feel that it is a Bill which is required and which is absolutely necessary, and a Bill without which University education in London can make no progress. We feel that it is a stigma upon this metropolis that it should, in this respect, be behind all the other great capitals of the world. We feel that we have no chance of reaching the vast public which is available for University teaching and training unless you put this instrument into our hands. Without it we feel that we can take no step forward. . . . We feel that we have got here a measure which in itself embodies the best tradition of the past and which completes the work of Bentham and Austin, of Mill and Grote, of the men who were the pioneers of University education in London; and that it is a measure which, if it is allowed to bear fruition, will place us in a position at least as good as that of any metropolis in the world."¹⁰

Haldane's speech was decisive and the Bill was given its second reading without a division. Asquith's glowing tribute gave Haldane keen pleasure, and he must have welcomed the comment that "the result must be some compensation . . . for months and years of unthankful work."¹¹ Everything seemed now to promise well. Balfour put him in charge of the Grand Committee stage. But an unexpected obstacle arose in a bargaining objection lodged by the group of Irish members. They expressed with some partisan vehemence, it would appear, the view that they could not support the measure while the problem of University education in Ireland remained unsolved. The bargain which they offered for the withdrawal of their objection and for the lending of their support was that Haldane should visit Ireland and bring about a reorganisation of the University structure there. Balfour was agreeable and Haldane accepted the proffered bargain, despite Morley's warning that he would find in Ireland "deep and troubled waters unlike the limpid pool of the University of London".¹² After preliminary study and consultations in Dublin and Belfast he began what he himself called "a remarkable set of negotiations".¹³ And remarkable indeed they were. In his diary he recorded the strange story of his almost cloak-and-dagger journey to Armagh to see Cardinal Logue. The clandestine nature of his movement would have done credit to an espionage drama. Education can rarely have ridden forward on an odder vehicle. The Catholic Archbishop, who was favourable to the proposed plan for two teaching Universities (besides Trinity College, Dublin), the one predominantly Catholic in Dublin, and the other mainly Protestant in Belfast, had insisted on this secret and, to all appearances, conspiratorial approach, and had suggested that the Cardinal would not favour the proposals for reform. The Cardinal, however, was both hospitable and ready to accept the scheme. Within a very short time a Bill and two Charters had been drawn up, and Balfour was to guide them through the Cabinet. To his surprise and dismay his colleagues pusillanimously rejected them; and it was not until ten years later, in 1908, that Augustine Birrell, when Secretary for Ireland, was able to bring forward with success a Bill on the Irish Universities, which was substantially the same as Haldane's, so that Haldane could claim the scalps of two more Universities for his belt. But what for him was of immediate importance in 1898 was that his University of London Bill could proceed without serious impediment. Unhappily for his hopes the drafting of Statutes produced compromises which prevented the immediate maturing of his full scheme for an Imperial teaching University. In 1909 he was to return to the formidable questions of the organisation and co-ordination of higher education in London. In the meantime, he had been able to follow up a suggestion of the Prince of Wales and to bring about the transfer of the University from Burlington Gardens to the Imperial Institute—a move which, while giving the University administration more room, helped to rescue the Imperial Institute from its financial troubles and so to relieve the Prince's anxieties. Further, he was much influenced by his share in the work of the Departmental Committee which was appointed in the spring of 1904 "to inquire into the working of the Royal College of Science (including the School of Mines); to consider in what way the Staff . . . may be utilised to the fullest extent for the promotion of higher scientific studies in connection with the work of existing or projected institutions for instruction

of the same character in the metropolis or elsewhere. . . .” Of this Committee Haldane was chairman during its second year and both the preliminary and the final report were in his responsibility. He had succeeded in the chair Sir Francis Mowatt, the Permanent Head of the Treasury, of whom he wrote in the *Autobiography*, “he was a man who never failed to take the bigger side of things into account, and to look to the future, even when considering questions of economy for the State”—a remark which might have been made of a later distinguished Permanent Head of the Treasury who wrote the last of these Centenary Essays. I shall refer again to certain aspects of the Committee’s report. For the moment I mention only the suggestion that this new Imperial College of Science and Technology which was to emerge from the Committee’s work should be associated with the University, and that a Royal Commission should be appointed to consider what changes would be necessary in order to produce an amalgamation. When the Royal Commission came into being in 1909 Haldane was made its chairman, and with these duties he began what was probably his major task in the field of education. It was four years before the Commission produced its Report; 81 days were spent in taking evidence, and the minutes of evidence, full of interest and of infinitely varied views and opinions, form the heaviest volume that I have ever handled for reading’s sake. During these years Haldane was at the War Office, pursuing his immensely important reforms, and later was Lord Chancellor. At his suggestion the terms of reference of the Royal Commission had been widened from their originally limited scope. In their new form they clearly reflect Haldane’s own attitude. The Commission was :

“to inquire into the working of the present organisation of the University of London, and into other facilities for advanced education (general, professional, and technical) existing in London for persons of either sex above secondary school age; to consider what provision should exist in the Metropolis for University teaching and research; to make recommendations as to the relations which should in consequence subsist between the University of London, its incorporated Colleges, the Imperial College of Science and Technology, the other Schools of the University, and the various public institutions and bodies concerned; and further to recommend as to any changes of constitution and organisation which appear desirable; regard being had to the facilities for education and research which the Metropolis should afford for specialist and advanced students in connection with the provision existing in other parts of the United Kingdom and of our Dominions beyond the seas.”

The Report of the Commission (1913) is a document of wide and comprehensive scope, which still merits careful study. It not only investigates and analyses the whole complex of institutions and the formal structure of the organisation of higher education in London, but it contains many interesting and timely expressions of views, of a general nature, on many branches of education, full-time, part-time, technical and so on, and wise, though not perhaps exceptionally original or revolutionary, concepts of University education. Further, anyone who has the time and stamina to read the Minutes of Evidence has a treat in store. The war intervened to delay the execution of

the recommendations in the Report; but the University, as at present constituted, represents in some degree what Haldane hoped to achieve. In a speech in November, 1920, he went so far as to outline his conception of the way in which the University should develop as a close association of colleges. There is probably some element of rhetoric in some of the remarks in this speech. But they make abundantly clear what he believed to be the necessary ambition and object of the University.

"The University of London can be no mere teaching body. It can be no mere local institution in a great city. It ought to be what it is not today—it ought to be the chief centre of learning in the entire Empire, perhaps the chief centre of learning for the whole world. Here ought to be concentrated the highest talent, the highest level in that passion for excellence of which I have spoken, the highest atmosphere, such as only can come in a great capital at the heart of a great country."⁵

Even our native modesty in the University will not deter me from hazarding an expression of conviction that Haldane would have felt no disappointment if now, 36 years after that speech, he could see the University as it has grown and stridden ahead, not only in size and complexity, but in the high purposes of learning and of service to the country and Commonwealth. He would see the University headquarters a noticeable (in fact, it would be difficult not to notice it) part of Bloomsbury, where he had hoped a site could be found in place of the incommodious home in the Imperial Institute.

But the work of the Royal Commission brought strongly to his attention not only the problems of the University, but a good deal more about the general educational situation. In his Manchester speech in 1913 he had said:

"I have been for four years chairman of a Royal Commission on University education, which has been a great education to me, because I have learned how utterly chaotic and backward is the state of education—elementary, secondary, and higher—in this country."¹⁶

University Grants Committee

Before I leave the subject of the Universities, I ought to interpolate a word of comment—a comment which can only be a grateful one from any member of a University in this country—on his part in the creation of the University Grants Committee. His initiative introduced a system for financing the Universities which is the envy of academic people in many another country. And rightly so. With the British capacity for doing the almost unbelievable, he devised this way of producing Treasury grants (which since his day have grown to an impressive magnitude; though do not let me leave with you the idea that we could not do with more—much more) without diminishing the freedom of the Universities to teach what and how they wish. True, in recent years there has been a critical interest on the part of the Public Accounts Committee in the way in which Universities expend their grants. Such an interest, if carried far, could endanger this precious principle of academic freedom and, at the worst, reduce us to disciplined servants of a government. The liberal-minded Treasury—and in this matter the Treasury has been extraordinarily liberal—has stoutly defended the principle. Haldane, I am

sure, would have been proud of his child which, under such a guardian, has grown into a thoroughly handsome and considerable figure.

Scientific, Technical and Technological Education

But I must not linger on this pleasant topic. For it is necessary that I should pass quickly to his contribution to the development of scientific, technical, and technological education. The insistent and justified clamour to which we have been subjected in recent years about the comparative backwardness in these fields is a reflection of what Haldane was thinking and saying half a century ago and what he continued to say with force and conviction. The spectacle of what Germany was achieving had deeply stirred him. It was more than obvious to him that unless we could vividly encourage the application of science on a much larger scale to industrial needs and potentialities, we should fall even more rapidly behind some of our most serious national competitors. It was not only from Germany that lessons could be learned, but also from Switzerland, America, Canada, France, and Belgium. Critics have sometimes blamed the relative inertia upon governments and the Civil Service. But industry must take its share of the criticism. In a speech late in life (1923) at Liverpool University, when he was officially opening new research laboratories, he pressed for a much closer link of co-operation between science and industry.

"We are face to face with a state of things in which scientific knowledge is going to be, as far as can be foreseen, at the very foundation of industry. Therefore it is not on the score of benevolence that we appeal to the great industrial world and its magnates. If they wish to ensure the future and to provide themselves against surprises, which are not only possible but are sure to come, in one direction or another, they had better regard gifts to such institutions as ours not as benevolences but as an investment of capital which would produce compound and more than compound interest."¹⁷

Today industry has to a not inconsiderable degree taken this message to heart. But there is still some lack of clear vision. Haldane's wisdom we can fully recognise in his insistence on the power of knowledge, of scientific knowledge, to stimulate and promote industrial activity and industrial capacity.

In the Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Science (1905), there are striking passages which have the ring of Haldane, who was its chairman in its second year. The first is not exactly parallel with the present-day scene, though the latter part of the quotation might have been said today :

"A survey of the whole field of technical education would show that England compared not unfavourably with other countries in the provision made for what may be called the lower and intermediate grades of technical education, as well as for the technical training for the learned professions obtainable at many of our Universities. The principal deficiency, whether the resources and needs of this country are viewed by themselves, or whether the rapid strides made by other countries are considered with them, appears to lie in the sphere of higher technological education."¹⁸

Two further passages—this time from the recommendations of the Committee—have a very topical sound :

“ We have no hesitation in proclaiming this country’s urgent need of a greatly increased provision for education in the Sciences applicable to industry, of a University grade, and—so far as consistent with the predominant aim—of a University type, and education concerned with principles rather than with processes, and advancing to the highest planes of specialisation and research.”¹⁹

In his *Autobiography* he had been at some pains to stress a similar opinion. After study of Charlottenburg and of the separation of the great Technical Colleges in Germany from the Universities, he had been convinced that it was only in the larger atmosphere of a University that technical education of the finest kind could be attained. It would have been interesting to hear him on the Colleges of Advanced Technology which have been designated to meet an especially urgent need today. And now the other passage from the Departmental Committee’s recommendations :

“ The present combination of conditions at South Kensington points to the desirability of so utilising the resources there available, and of making additions to these, as to form on that site an institution of the highest standing, an institution which, with the staff, equipment, and students that it will command, would go far towards remedying the above-mentioned defects.”²⁰

At this moment, the Government, as is commonly known, is in process of backing a vast expansion of this very idea of 50 years ago.

The production of highly skilled technologists and scientists in much greater numbers was then as now an urgent national need. Haldane saw behind that problem a situation which in some measure still faces us. The situation can best be put in the form of two questions. What is the best kind of education for the intending scientist or technologist before he begins his specialist training at the academic level? Are there enough teachers of the right quality available to provide them with this preliminary education? He had no doubts, I think, on the kind of answers which should be given to these questions. In the House of Lords 40 years ago in the middle of the war he replied to the first question in an unambiguous manner :

“ Our problem is to make education, which is a tiresome word to most people in this country, interesting by showing its concrete nature and by showing what it means, not only theoretically but practically. . . . It means the training of the mind in the widest and most comprehensive sense, so that the youth of the country may be able, when the time comes, to turn, it may be to science, it may be to the other humanities, it may be to any of the thousand and one subjects which are covered by the field of knowledge in the twentieth century.”²¹

And more specifically of the would-be scientist or technologist :

“ When boys wish to go forward to a career of industry and science, they may at least go with their minds so trained, so apt, that they are able to take up and absorb the scientific ideas which they are to put into practice in the industries which they undertake.”²²

Demand for Increase in Numbers of Highly Qualified Teachers

The gaps in the educational system of his time he vigorously castigated. The burden of his complaint is one which is not altogether dead even now, that education had been removed too much from contact with life, and that it had not been made to take its place in the whole of a great system of national training which should prepare not only for theoretical activities, but for practical activities that should aim at giving the very highest excellence and refinement, cultural, moral, spiritual, and physical, which it is possible for an educational system to attain. To the second question his response is given in some words from his House of Lords Speech in 1916: "There is no worse economy possible than on education" (hence his grievous disappointment at the effects of the Geddes Axe in 1921) "... Speaking for myself, if I had a limited amount of money to spend, I would spend it first, not on special subjects, not on this or that branch of science, not on this branch of training engineers or the other; I would spend it on improving the profession of teachers throughout the country, and particularly on improving the quantity and quality of the teachers in the secondary schools".²³ He may have indulged in some exaggeration here, but he had seen to the heart of a problem which vexes us today. Unless teachers of real quality and distinction are forthcoming in large numbers for the schools, much of our effort to promote higher technological education may well not reach the success for which we hope and plan.

Day Continuation Schools

Haldane's exploratory work over the entire range of national education had persuaded him that much could be done, markedly in the technical field, by making provision for the further training of those who were leaving school at the minimum leaving age. He won the sympathy of Lloyd George in 1916 for proposals which he had for (among other things) day continuation schools. The Fisher Act of 1918 embodied clauses which, if they had become fully operative, would have made compulsory, for every young person who had not received full-time education to the age of 16, attendance at a part-time school for 320 hours a year until reaching the age of 18. This was an encouraging beginning. But the Act was unsatisfactory in that there was no intention to bring the full scheme into force immediately. The scheme, even in its modified and much less exacting form, did not accomplish what its originators had expected. There were many reasons for the comparative failure—the reluctance of successive governments to fix an appointed day on which the full system could come into operation for the country as a whole or for each administrative area separately, the drastic economy measures of 1921, the shortage of suitable teachers, the inadequacy of buildings, and also the widespread industrial and popular objections to compulsory part-time education. In London, where compulsory attendance was tried, many difficulties arose to wreck the scheme. But the voluntary schools which survived from the scheme proved valuable. In 1927 an informal committee, of which R. F. Cholmeley was Chairman and Albert Mansbridge and Professor Nunn among its members, with Haldane as President, in a report on *The Next Step in National Education* said on day continuation

schools that the conditions of success would not be present until the country had experimented widely with a scheme of voluntary day continuation schools which would give an opportunity for creating an efficient teaching staff, for evolving a suitable curriculum, and for erecting buildings, and which, above all, would gradually accustom the public mind to the idea of part-time continued education, and which would demonstrate its advantages both to the pupils and to their employers. Had these schemes fully succeeded, some part of Haldane's hopes would have been realised. He had long ago set his heart on educational opportunity for all. Even as early as 1887 he had tried to interest his Liberal friends in his suggestion of free education up to the University age. Social and national needs had also induced him to include in the schemes for continued education some physical training, which was not unpopular, and training in a cadet corps with the necessary annual camp, which was received with less enthusiasm and with positive suspicion by Labour members. Much of what he had wished to do in providing further education for the adolescent was linked in his mind with post-war reconstruction in which a trained and educated people seemed an essential feature. To his regret the axe which struck the continuation schools, postponed also the improvement of secondary schools. And lastly it seriously affected for a while the development of Adult Education.

Birkbeck College

Haldane, in his firm knowledge that there were many who for one reason or another were missing the further or higher education which their gifts merited, was active in seeking a remedy. In his inquiry into higher education in London he had, for example, noticed the work of University character that was being done at Birkbeck College for part-time and other students. His Commission recommended that the College should be admitted as a School of the University for part-time and evening students—which meant the shedding of the work which was not of University standard. In 1919 he became President of the College and set about obtaining the financial support needed to make this change possible. The London County Council gave generous backing and he was able to effect the admission of the College as a School of the University in 1920. He remained President of the grateful and unique College until his death in 1928; and his portrait hangs in the Council Room of the College to recall one whom I may perhaps call its second Founder.

Adult Education

His interest in Adult Education of a more general type went back to his lectures in 1881 at the Working Men's College. But it was, as he says, in the years from 1915 onwards that the really striking progress was made. With Mansbridge, Tawney, and others he was able to concentrate on the solid business of extending the field and of arousing public interest. Higher education had somehow to grow out from the Universities in which it had been so excessively confined. The practical idealism and the enthusiasm which he and his friends showed were impressive. "If a sufficiency of industrial workers could be got together in industrial centres in the evenings, after the day's work was done, to take courses of systematic teaching, then the

Universities might well allocate highly qualified tutors who would devote themselves to this kind of instruction, while reserving the rest of the day to their studies and researches. If funds could be found to establish these posts, the positions would not be unattractive to public-spirited University graduates with the proper tutorial qualifications. Moreover, we knew that the Board of Education was beginning to look with favour on this addition to the national system of education, and to help as far as its limited resources would permit. It was hoped, too, that the L.E.As. would by degrees come in and support the scheme."²⁴ Their hopes were not disappointed. Official recognition came and L.E.As. and Universities gave strong support, and even residential colleges, like Coleg Harlech, Ruskin, and Woodbrooke, came into being. London was in the forefront and by the time of Haldane's death almost 200,000 students over 18 were attending classes of a specialist nature. This accomplishment had not come without much hard labour. He himself in a single year addressed upwards of 50 meetings about the country in the attempt to stir the imagination and active interest of the working man. In a period of 30 years he made more than a thousand speeches to assist the cause.

He had been particularly active in the development of the British Institute of Adult Education of which he was the first President. Having persuaded Sir Ernest Cassel to give half a million pounds to aid the promotion of adult education, and having undertaken at Sir Ernest's request to become Chairman of the Trust, he was able to obtain from the Trustees a considerable sum for the Institute. And it is significant of Haldane's enthusiasm for the cause of education that, when his health was failing, his last two public speeches should be educational, and that one of them should be his annual address to the Swindon branch of the W.E.A. Busy as he always was, yet he had never spared time or energy or his own gifts in this absorbing interest. I recall, as characteristic of all he ever did, the words which he wrote to Mrs. Humphrey Ward in 1890 after the cruel disappointment over his broken engagement: "After all has been said and done when the highest call has been discharged and we have done our duty to our neighbour, and are free to turn to ourselves, there is no satisfaction so deep and so lasting as that which comes from a sense of concentration in real work. It gives us all our deliverance even when we are dissatisfied with what we have accomplished."²⁵

The Secret of National Education

Haldane had no reason to feel dissatisfied with what he had achieved 38 years later. He had done real work for education, of which we are the fortunate beneficiaries. I have done but scant and wretched justice to it. Yet I have allowed you to read his own words in plenty. And it is fitting that I should end with other words of this man who could decline an invitation to a Chair in Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews and the offer of the post of Minister of Education, and yet could give himself up heart and soul to education and who could plead eloquently with young and old alike, in Universities and outside, to found their lives on the passion for excellence: "That," he said to the Working Men's College in 1913, "is the secret of national education: to ask the highest, to ask the best, and to base your movement upon nothing short of idealism."²⁶

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

¹⁴"Universities and the Schools in Scotland" in *Education and Life* (John Murray, 1902), page 39 f.

¹⁵*Lord Haldane's Education Proposals*, published by the Moral Education League, page 3.

¹⁶Haldane 1915-28 by Sir Frederick Maurice (Faber and Faber, 1937), page 24 f.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, page 108 f.

¹⁸"The Dedicated Life" in *Universities and National Life* (John Murray, 1912), page 76 f.

¹⁹*University of London Calendar 1956-57*, Historical Note, page 75 f., section iv.

²⁰*Ibid.*, page 76, section iv.

²¹*Ibid.*, page 77, section iv.

²²Richard Burdon Haldane, *An Autobiography* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1929), page 125 f.

²³Haldane 1856-1915 by Sir Frederick Maurice (Faber and Faber, 1937), page 83 f.

²⁴*Autobiography*, page 128.

²⁵Haldane 1856-1915, page 86.

²⁶*Autobiography*, page 129.

²⁷*Ibid.*, page 144 f.

²⁸Address on "The Nationalisation of Universities" to the Old Students' Association of the Royal College of Science, quoted in *Haldane 1915-28*, page 90 f.

²⁹*Lord Haldane's Education Proposals*, page 3.

³⁰Haldane 1915-28, page 125 f.

³¹*Final Report of the Departmental Committee on the Royal College of Science, etc.*, paragraph 27, page 9.

³²*Ibid.*, paragraph 72, page 22.

³³*Ibid.*, paragraph 77, page 24.

³⁴Haldane 1915-19, page 25.

³⁵*Ibid.*, page 29 f.

³⁶*Ibid.*, page 26.

³⁷*Autobiography*, page 293 f.

³⁸Haldane 1856-1915, page 54

³⁹Haldane 1915-28, page 214

Haldane and Defence

By CYRIL FALLS

Captain Falls was Military Correspondent of The Times from 1939 to 1953 and Chichele Professor of the History of War at Oxford and a Fellow of All Souls College from 1946 to 1953.

WHEN Richard Burdon Haldane became Secretary of State for War in December, 1905, it seemed to many an equally odd choice on his part and on that of the new Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman. From Haldane's point of view, however, there were good reasons why he should have done what he did. The best of all, creditable to himself, was that he looked forward with interest to working at the War Office. Then, he had to get into the Cabinet somehow, not so much for himself—though he was reasonably ambitious—as because he was deeply anxious that Grey should become a member, and Grey had told him that he would not enter a Campbell-Bannerman Cabinet unless Haldane did so too. Then, he did not want to be Attorney-General and could not hope for anything considered a plum. He was not in an easy position, less so than his Liberal Imperialist partner, Asquith, who was more cautious and accommodating. Haldane had made no secret of the fact that he hoped Lord Rosebery would become a member of the Government and was one of those who would have liked to see Campbell-Bannerman kicked upstairs into the Lords.

So he found himself in an office which virtually all other members of the Campbell-Bannerman Government, to their discredit, regarded with utter contempt. (One is tempted to ask whether this attitude had any connection with the fact that this first-class team, the most brilliant of modern times, proved a weak Government when it came to waging war.) Nothing much was expected of him. A typical piece of advice which Haldane received was to keep quiet, attempt no great improvements, and "cut the estimates." It is curious that anyone should have supposed him to be the sort of man to proceed on these lines, but everyone seems to have been surprised by what he did do, including the Prime Minister. "I had no idea 'Schopenhauer' would cut such a figure in the barrack yard," was his comment after watching Haldane at work.* The Prime Minister had been at the War Office and, being a shrewd man, had picked up extensive knowledge of that institution, though very much less about the Army.

Nothing could be more in the Haldane style than the literary preparation to fit him for his task. He had read Clausewitz, Bronsart von Schellendorf, Von der Goltz, and Yorck von Wartenburg. Bronsart was probably chosen because he was the Emperor's mentor. One Frenchman was admitted to this little group of German military intellectuals, Ardant du Picq, the remarkable student of the soldier's morale.

Haldane himself could not have known less than he did of the Army from

* There are two versions of this remark. That quoted by Lord Waverley on page 220 applied to the time before Campbell-Bannerman had seen the results of Haldane's work, while that given above applied to a time when he could appreciate them.

the technical point of view. It is said, I know not with what degree of truth, that at the start the simplest military terms, such as company, battery, and squadron, had only the most limited significance for him. On the other hand, he was a shrewd and patient observer. He had taken a deep interest in the South African War, in which he had been strongly opposed to the pro-Boer left wing of his party. Even before he entered the War Office—the old building in Pall Mall, which was then about to be demolished and to make way for the fine new one going up in Whitehall—he realised that some of the troubles in the South African War had been due to the indifferent organisation of the Army. He was disposed to believe that there was still a great deal of waste and misdirected effort.

As we think of his heavy steps clumping up the rickety stairs of the old War Office, so different from the lordly marble double stairway he was soon to use in the new, let us consider what reception he was to expect and what he was to find. It has been said that the soldiers were scared. That is completely untrue. He could not have had a better start. Everyone wished him well and was prepared to love him. An almost audible sigh of relief had gone up when his appointment was announced. The Army had, it felt, at least got a patriot. It might have got something very different, in its view, from among his colleagues. And this sentiment I find easy to understand. It was not the fact that these colleagues had opposed the war that upset the soldiers; it was the really abominable accusations launched against the conduct of the Army which they found galling.

Some of them were a little amused by him, this new chief who was said to be so deeply versed in German philosophy, who had an air of austerity but made champagne and cigars vanish at a startling rate, and who started off, in describing his own rôle and plans, with a jest of the broader sort, such as is popularly supposed to appeal to the military mind. In order to reassure the General Staff, in case it expected him to rush through a pet scheme, as his predecessors had done, he likened himself to "a young and blushing virgin just united to a bronzed warrior." In such a case, he said, "it was not expected by the public that any result of the union should appear until at least nine months had passed." That went down well from all points of view. How welcome was the sentiment may be divined from the reply of Colonel Ellison, when asked whether he would become his military private secretary and mentor in technical matters, which was to ask a question himself: Had the new Secretary of State a cut-and-dried plan for the Army? If the answer had been in the affirmative, Ellison would have declined the post. He had seen too much of cut-and-dried plans. Haldane paid him the high compliment of saying that Ellison never let him off anything.

Earlier Projects for Army Reform

It cannot be denied that since the South African War notable reforms of the Army had been projected and in some cases carried through under two Secretaries of State in the Conservative Ministry, both above the average: St. John Brodrick and Arnold-Foster. Brodrick, later Lord Midleton, had gone to the War Office, with which he was already well acquainted, in the autumn of 1900, when the war had still eighteen months to run. He had, I think boldly, devised a scheme which he adumbrated in the Estimates of

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1901 to be brought into operation after the war. There were to be six corps, of which the first three, all of regular troops, would form an Expeditionary Force to be sent abroad in a European war. The other three, one half regular, the other two nearly all of auxiliary forces, would not be ready for foreign service, but the merit of the scheme was that he proposed to embody in them 60 selected battalions of Volunteers and Militia and ten regiments of Yeomanry. There is no space to go into the details of a plan which largely broke down because it was so much delayed by the dragging on of the war and because in the immediate post-war period troops and equipment could not be found for it. Its inherent weakness was that a clear principle was lacking, but it produced an idea taken into account by Haldane, the simple idea of forming out of an amorphous mass of troops an army suitable for war. There were positive achievements, too: the formation of Corps districts; the development of Salisbury Plain as an artillery centre and manoeuvre area, for which Aldershot was now too small owing to the increased range of guns; the 18-pounder quick-firing barrel-recoiling gun for the infantry's support, and the Royal Horse Artillery's quick-firing 13-pounder; the short Lee-Enfield rifle (one great advantage of which was that it would not only equip the infantry but in the cavalry would replace the indifferent carbine); and a practical active-service uniform.

When Arnold-Foster took Brodrick's place, the latter's work was allowed to lapse. Arnold-Foster was against the Cardwell principle of linked battalions in each regiment, one to serve at home and the other oversea. His aim was to establish General Service and Home Service Armies, the former with nine years' service with the colours. This again hardly went beyond the paper stage and was, I think, impracticable. But, though the findings of the celebrated Esher Committee were only a side issue for him, Arnold-Foster adopted its recommendations for the abolition of the post of Commander-in-Chief, for the formation of a General Staff at the War Office, and for the establishment of an Army Council to carry out and oversee administration (that is organisation, personnel, and armament), finance, and the non-effective votes such as pensions. It should be added that Colonel Ellison had been the Secretary of the Esher Committee. Lord Esher himself had contributed most of the constructive ideas; Sydenham Clark had done the financial work; and Ellison had put the report together, admirably. The other member, Admiral Sir John Fisher, had contributed little but *boutades*, a failing of that man of genius on too many occasions. Another Tory bequest was the Committee of Imperial Defence (Balfour), the seed from which the Ministry of Defence sprang many years later.

Organisation of Expeditionary Force

Haldane, I have said, started happily. At an early stage he reported: "My Generals are like angels." Before his own schemes had got beyond a rough note on general principles, he had a problem only indirectly connected with them to solve. In January, 1906, Grey warned him that he had information of possible hostile designs against France by Germany, to mature in the near future. They went to the Prime Minister to suggest Anglo-French staff talks. Campbell-Bannerman agreed, but with the proviso that they must involve no commitments. Within eight days of Grey's warning, General

Grierson, the Director of Military Operations, began conversations with the French Military Attaché, the then Colonel Huguet. I consider Haldane was justified here, though he has been criticised since, and Morley made much of the talks when he resigned. Haldane received a shock when he heard that there was an estimate that Britain would be able to provide only an Expeditionary Force of 80,000 men at the end of two months. This would never do.

Haldane's approach to his work was governed by clear thinking. He belonged to the "blue water" school; he believed that the defence of Britain was provided by the Navy and was not the primary rôle of the Army. Therefore the object should be: first, to put into the field for foreign service on the outbreak of war the largest and most efficient force compatible with peace-time expenditure; secondly, to maintain this force at full strength and efficiency. Then what to do with it? He went on to reason that its object should be to support the maintenance by a friendly power, France, of the Channel Ports, because, if the Germans occupied France, then, particularly in view of the fast-growing strength of the German Navy, British security against invasion would be endangered. A principle of internal politics, indeed politics inside the Cabinet, was no less vital. He must carry his colleagues with him, fighting opponents among them if necessary. Therefore he must make his scheme economical and save every penny possible to spend elsewhere.

He found an unwieldy and ill-balanced Army. The regular forces amounted to well over a quarter of a million, but with a wholly inadequate reserve. The Yeomanry and Volunteers amounted to 280,000, but were simply a mass of cavalry and infantry, with no higher organisation, no field artillery or engineers, no transport, no medical service. The Militia, numbering 100,000, was not available for foreign service. From a total of nearly 650,000 the country could mobilise immediately three divisions and a cavalry division of three brigades—the 80,000 men mentioned.

For the Expeditionary Force he decided on the divisional principle, and that he could make available just enough troops to provide six divisions. This was to be the strength of the Expeditionary Force, and he concluded, from examination of German, French, and other resources, that in a war in which the Central Powers and Russia were involved it might make the difference between initial victory and initial defeat.

I cannot go farther into detail, but I must relate one incident. He had to reduce the number of batteries of field artillery and could do so within the framework of his scheme. The object was, I need hardly say, to scrape up a little more money. Lord Midleton attacked him on this point. Haldane retorted that the new guns were splendid, but that of 93 batteries of field artillery then at home we could mobilise only 42 at once. Why? Then out poured the expert knowledge, doubtless not long acquired. Quick-firing batteries used far more ammunition than the old discarded guns. This involved larger ammunition columns, and he was cutting the batteries to provide trained men for these. How delightful it must have been to be able to crush an ex-Secretary of State for War who had military detail at his fingers' ends! Perhaps one can imagine, too, the military adviser sitting in the wings and sighing with relief when his Minister got it right. Haldane

also made ingenious use of unnecessary Garrison Artillery Militia for those Expeditionary Force ammunition columns.

He also envisaged the quick formation of a seventh division from troops in relatively near stations abroad, and some surplus in the country, including battalions of the Brigade of Guards.

At the same time he introduced the General Staff system, hitherto working only within the War Office, into the Army at large.

Formation of Territorial Army

Next the Volunteers and Militia. Haldane's friend Morley had remarked to him: "This is the first middle-class Cabinet, and I am far from sure that it is going to satisfy the people that the traditions of our constitution will be preserved." There was nothing middle-class about the committee of 1906 to study the future of these auxiliary forces. Of the four regular soldiers, two were peers; of the other seven members, five were peers or peer's sons with courtesy titles, and the other two, George Freeman-Thomas and John Seely, were both to become peers. Most of them were county magnates, patrons of the forces to be converted. However, the Territorial Force really sprang from the brain of Haldane himself.

It was formed from the Yeomanry and the Volunteers, with some minor elements, cadet corps and rifle clubs, thrown in. It consisted of fourteen divisions and fourteen mounted brigades, which were to be as complete in every detail as the regular formations. If a major war broke out this force would be mobilised. He was quite clear that it would require six months' formation training, but he believed that at the end of this time it would be far more efficient and level than the Volunteers were or were likely to become. He hoped it would generally volunteer for foreign service. Its equipment was to be very different from that of the regulars.

The landed magnates and others fought him tooth and nail over the fate of the Militia. The Cabinet was doubtful and many back-benchers of his own side were positively hostile. Late in 1907 he lost the aid of the Prime Minister. Campbell-Bannerman had become his backer and friend and the only Minister, certainly in the Commons, who understood what he was driving at. On the other hand, he was helped by the attitude of the Opposition. The only ex-Minister who campaigned heartily against him was Middleton. Balfour, and Lansdowne in the Lords, restrained others and the malcontents in general and never gave the conscriptionists any official support. It was very different when Balfour ceased to lead the Opposition.

It is commonly said that Haldane turned the Militia into the Special Reserve, which was to provide drafts for his Expeditionary Force. It is true that the Special Reserve units took the regimental titles borne by the Militia. Otherwise, however, it would be more correct to say that Haldane abolished the Militia because it would not co-operate and built the Special Reserve in its ashes. This could not be said at the time because the feelings of the Militia representatives, who were mostly influential peers, had to be spared.

Opposition to Haldane

Since whatever extra Haldane spent had to be found from savings elsewhere, it may well be imagined that his disbandments were extensive and even

ruthless. He could, as I have said, plead that they were not needed for the defence of Britain. They involved more than Volunteer and Militia units and the regular artillery already mentioned. Certain infantry regiments possessed extra regular battalions, several of them 3rd Battalions and in one or two cases 4th Battalions also. On these his shears were used. He actually dared, he a Scot, to get rid of the 3rd Scots Guards. His hand was held out over the 3rd Coldstream Guards, but this was too much of a good thing. Other influences intervened and the battalion was saved.

Some of the senior officers were attracted by the conscription campaign, but it must be emphasised that they remained loyal and dutiful. The trouble was in the Cabinet. Sir Charles Harris, a capable civil servant whom Haldane had got made head of the financial department of the War Office, writes: "A critical moment in the history of his main army reforms, was when the Cabinet Committee, of which the leading lights were L.G. (Lloyd George), Winston, and Lulu Harcourt, challenged the whole thing as an extravagance."

He had, indeed, a long and arduous struggle with these three, who were known as the "economists." He could not have prevailed but for his savings. The Estimates of 1907-8 were two millions down—and that was two millions of real money, not the stuff we use today.

Further Reforms

These are the main features of what is known as the Haldane scheme, but they do not cover all the reforms associated with him. He was deeply concerned by the difficulty of finding a larger reserve of officers in war. This problem was solved, at least partially, by the creation of the Officers' Training Corps in the universities and the public schools.

Another step was less successful. Under his direction a young General named Douglas Haig, whom he had brought home from India and made his Director of Military Training, drew up for the Colonial Premiers, as they were then called, in April, 1907, a memorandum pointing out the need for uniformity between the British Army and theirs. The Prime Ministers agreed unanimously. They also appeared to favour a proposal for a General Staff for the whole Empire. That never eventuated, and the title of Chief of the Imperial General Staff, which Haldane brought in and which, so far as I know, was his invention, is today a misnomer. On the other hand, the plea for uniformity was answered. And up to the present moment that ideal has been kept well in the foreground.

I do not know whether I should mention the new Field Service Regulations, since it may be argued that such things are domestic and not to any great extent the concern of the Secretary of State. In this case, however, he was drawn in. Haig, his personal choice for Director of Military Training, had great talents for this sort of work, but he was not a tactful man. The General Staff side freely accepted all that Haig wrote. The Adjutant-General and Quartermaster-General, both considerably his seniors, were inclined to resent what they considered his dictation. Haldane saw him through.

Haldane's Supporters

At this point I should answer the question who were the real planners and who were the backers of the plans when drawn up. On the first point Haldane

HALDANE AND DEFENCE

himself is categorical. Afterwards claims were made for men who could not be considered as parents of the reforms. Those who could were five, two civilians and three soldiers: Haldane himself; Sir William Nicholson, Chief of the General Staff; General Ewart, Director of Military Operations; General Haig, later Director of Military Training; and Sir Charles Harris, head of the financial department. The task of putting the plans into action fell to Sir Charles Douglas, the Adjutant-General. Nicholson was described by Haldane as one of the cleverest men he had ever met, but not the type to make a first-class commander. Haldane used to say to him that he should have gone to the Bar, in which case he would have become Lord Chancellor. In a single service, the medical, Sir Alfred Keogh was invaluable. He drew some of the best surgeons and physicians into the Territorial Medical Service and organised hospitals which were brought into a state of activity on mobilisation.

In the background Lord Esher was a powerful supporter. Lord Crewe piloted Haldane's Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill through the Lords with skill and tact. Sir John French at Aldershot was a firm believer in the Territorial Force.

But the grand-scale backer was the King. The relations which developed between them were extraordinary, rare, I should say, in the case of any Minister not a Prime Minister and the Monarch, and even more curious in view of the difference in their tastes, outlook, and mental equipment. Edward VII was more than kindly and gracious to Haldane. The Secretary of State himself uses the word "affectionate." The King gave the young Territorial Force an enthusiastic send-off. In June, 1909, he presented colours to 108 Territorial battalions at Windsor.

"It was a curious experience," says Haldane, "to stand beside the King and watch the outcome of three years of strenuous days and nights of missionary enterprise; and of long hours of work in the War Office and in Parliament. I have had splendid backing and from no one more than the King."

The King invited him and his sister to dine and sleep at Windsor Castle. An invitation of the sort to a Minister was a commonplace, but Haldane was touched by the extension of the invitation to his sister, to whom he was devoted. In July he went to Knowsley and Worsley Park with King Edward, who presented colours to the West and East Lancashire Divisions. I think Haldane was developing a taste for society. On one occasion he induced Morley, of all men, to spend a week-end with him in what he called "the racing set." He was also a visitor at Taplow Court when the King was there. King Edward insisted that he should be photographed reclining on the lawn in front of their hostess, Lady Desborough, as if engaged in a conversation with himself. We nearly all find Edwardian house-party group photographs amusing, but this is exceptionally so. The King tried to make Haldane look comfortable, but failed. The Secretary of State recalls an embarrassed sea-lion.

Many men have been enthralled by royal confidence such as that bestowed by King Edward on Haldane. Personally, I detest the view that this is sycophancy. It seems to me laudable pride. Here there is no doubt that gratitude was genuine and warranted. On the King's death, Haldane wrote

with obvious sincerity :

"The relation between my King and myself was not a usual one as between Minister and Sovereign, and something personal is snapped. He was one of the few outside the professional soldiers who understood what I was trying to do for himself and his army, and without his constant support and advice I could not have done what I have done."

Haldane's Achievements

Let me run through the achievements. The General Staff system extended from the War Office to the Army ; a general development of the Committee of Imperial Defence and its value ; a well-prepared and well-found Expeditionary Force ; a Territorial Force with organisation similar to that of the Regular Army ; a draft-finding Special Reserve ; the Officers' Training Corps ; co-ordination between Home and Colonial Forces ; up-to-date Field Service Regulations ; a "War Book" kept up to date which instructed every Ministry and branch in its duties on mobilisation ; the Anglo-French staff talks. I have not mentioned, and can mention only in passing, the County Associations for the administration of the Territorial Force (an idea and title borrowed from Oliver Cromwell) and the Committee of Railway Managers formed to co-ordinate the railway traffic of mobilisation.

Haldane was not a magician. No scheme such as his could have shown a saving without also containing serious deficiencies. The old 15-pounder guns of the Regular Army were handed over to the Territorial Force Artillery, partly modernised, but remaining bad guns, with bad ammunition. Heavy and what we now call medium artillery were short. Many people thought the 1914-18 war would be short and open, so that there would be little call for such artillery. There was not much until the front had stabilised, but then the call was urgent and long unsatisfied. The supply of reserve ammunition was cut to save the cost of storage. There was little provision for the expansion of artillery and ammunition supply, and up to the end of 1916 many deaths were caused by "prematures." As the Army expanded there was not even cloth to make uniforms.

Some items which we may call in the slang of today "chicken feed" were banned by financial parsimony. This was the case with a third machine gun in infantry battalions, the steel screw picket for wire entanglement—valuable alike because it could be put into the ground without the noise of hammering and because it was less easily cut by fire than a wooden stake—and a mortar per battalion. No motor ambulance vehicles were provided, with the consequence that many wounded who might have been rescued were left behind in the retreat from Mons. Two of the six divisions of the B.E.F. lacked the mobile kitchens known as "cookers" so that the troops had to halt to prepare food, a very dangerous handicap. Artillery telephone apparatus was provided by officers. Haldane realised all this, but it finds little place in his writings.

I cannot enter into other questions which might be stretched to come under the heading of "Haldane and Defence." The visits to Germany and the negotiations which created so much prejudice against him are among these. So, too, is his deep interest in the Admiralty, his part in the formation of its

War Staff, and his feeling after his own scheme had been completed that he ought to go to the Admiralty and put that right, too. There was nothing much wrong with the Navy, but a lot with the Admiralty and the Admirals, whose doctrines were too numerous and not sound enough. Amusingly, when he found the young Winston Churchill pleading with Asquith to be sent to the Admiralty he was perturbed. He did not think Churchill fully appreciated the importance of the War Staff. In the end he sat in with the First Lord over its formation. He objected to him also with unusual acerbity, though he kept this to himself, because of his feeling that "only a year since he had been doing his best to cut down McKenna's Estimates and that the Admiralty would receive the news of his advent with dismay." In various other ways Haldane contributed to the development of the fighting services.

He was shamefully treated, virtually branded as a traitor. There is no excuse for this. It is almost a national shame. But it must be admitted that he sometimes chose his words badly. For a man of his position and in view of his association in the public mind with German literature and philosophy, it is hard to think of an unwise phrase than that about Germany being his "spiritual home."

All qualifications made, the final judgement must be that he accomplished magnificent work in the reform of the Army. And, whereas, even to many of his intimates, he appeared to be a man of ideas only, at home only in the abstract, he proved himself to be a man of action, at home in bringing to reality the ideas which flowed from his mind.

Today no War Minister could do what he did. The office is reduced in scope and its holder has ceased to be a Cabinet Minister because so much that concerns the War Office is done over his head. I think it is certain that Haldane would have made an ideal Minister of Defence. It is interesting to note that he had no ideological objection to conscription. He told a correspondent that it might be necessary in a great war and he actually drafted a Conscription Bill.

He combined imagination with industry and above all with a great gift for simplifying his problems before he started to solve them. Many able men are inclined to make their problems look more difficult than they really are. Haldane's lucid mind blotted out the inessentials while realising the value of what would have appeared to others unimportant items. When he had no unit on hand to fill a blank in his frame he converted another. He did not found new units. He wasted nothing. But he paid a price for this concentration on his task. He could take little part in other day-to-day affairs of the Cabinet and it was only after he had left the War Office in 1912 that he began to do so. Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith also to a lesser degree appreciated his value, but some of his colleagues felt impatient. Haldane was not permitted to undergo the test of acting as Secretary of State for War in war itself. I suggest that he is the greatest peacetime holder of that office in our annals.

Haldane and the Machinery of Government

By THE RT. HON. LORD BRIDGES, P.C., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., M.C.

Lord Bridges was Permanent Secretary to H.M. Treasury from 1945 to 1956.

THIS title may perhaps suggest nothing more than a close analysis of the Report of the Committee on Machinery of Government presided over by Lord Haldane in 1917-18.

But no one who has spent many years in the public service should take it for granted that the report of a committee is a fair reflection of the mind of even so eminent a Chairman as Haldane. All the more so when the Committee comprised such stalwarts as Edwin Montagu, Sir Robert Morant, Sir George Murray and Mrs. Sidney Webb. Nor need we rely on assumptions, since we have only to look at Mrs. Webb's diary. This is what she wrote on 8th December, 1918 :

"The report embodies all the right ideas and follows closely the lines laid down in the Webb document. But these ideas appear in nebulously-phrased, hesitating propositions: a concession to Murray's vested prejudices and Sykes's vested interests and Haldane's incurable delight in mental mistiness."¹

Do not take me as accepting this judgment. I shall return to the Machinery of Government Report. For the moment all I want to establish is that the Report cannot be my starting point.

In the few short weeks since I regained my freedom I have familiarised myself with Haldane's life and work, and with the enquiries in which he took part. It is easy to see what he achieved in, say, defence or education, as has been so well shown by others.

But it is far harder for me to do in my allotted sphere what others have done in theirs, namely, to start by giving an account of what Haldane achieved in regard to the Machinery of Government, and to deduce from that the ideas which inspired his work.

I shall deal with my subject in exactly the opposite order. I shall start by describing the general ideas which dominated Haldane's thinking, his general approach to problems, and something of his methods of work.

Some may think this an odd way to proceed: for there is, or was, a popular view which represented Haldane as having a mind essentially metaphysical, and unfitted for the handling of practical affairs; with learning so great that his arteries of thought became clogged. I never met Lord Haldane. But this is not the impression made on me. Indeed, I believe it to be largely a delusion. His utterances may, on occasion, especially towards the end of his life, have been misty or prolix. But in essence I see him as a man whose approach to his work was dominated by a few large but simple ideas.

His first care was to establish principles. He then proceeded to formulate ideas for putting them into practice. The record shows that he could establish an effective partnership when working with men or women whom he

knew and with whom intellectual collaboration came easily. And it is significant that Haldane's highest praise for a colleague was that he looked for a clear principle before advising action.² But Haldane had some difficulty in understanding the mental processes and reactions of the common man. This may explain why his achievements as a tactician often do not match his quality as a strategist. It explains, too, his self-confessed inadequacy with a jury, and in cross-examination, contrasted with his supremely effective presentation of argument to a bench of judges.

I shall start then by describing the few large but simple ideas. Later, I shall show what use Haldane made of them.

The Search for First Principles

We start with the general tenor of Haldane's mind. Its strong emphasis was on systematic study. He tells us in his autobiography that he had come to the conviction that in philosophy as well as in science no systematic knowledge is sufficient in itself unless it leads up and points to first principles.³

This search for first principles led Haldane, when handling any question of organisation, to start by making up his mind about what was the object in view and what were the purposes aimed at. All else was then subordinated to finding means of carrying out these purposes.

Closely connected with this was his great interest in the careful differentiation of function between Departments and authorities.

It is not fanciful to see a link between Haldane's search for first principles and his deep interest in research, in science and in education. One cannot deal with any one of these three strands without finding oneself involved with the others.

To take research first. In civil matters Haldane's thought is expressed in its pithiest form in the sentence in the Machinery of Government Report, that :

"In the sphere of civil government the duty of investigation and thought, as preliminary to action, might with great advantage be more definitely recognised."⁴

This led to the emphasis which he put on research establishments of all kinds—using research in the widest sense and not limiting it to the physical sciences.⁵ It also led to his insistence on the separation of research from administration, since (in his view) without this separation, research could not be carried on effectively.

In science, Haldane had been much impressed by what Germany had achieved. He was a persistent advocate of more intensive and systematic study of scientific problems in this country, as the essential preliminary to any further advance.

Scientific study again is closely linked with education. No man of his generation did more than Haldane to promote the cause of education. His name is particularly associated with higher and technological education, but he also believed that the remedy for many social ills lay in better general education.

Given this broad approach, it is not surprising that Haldane saw the problems he handled far more clearly than most men against the background of the life of the nation as a whole.

Haldane's Methods of Work

So much for his ideas. As to his methods of work, two points deserve notice. The first is that Haldane showed a great capacity for private, off-stage, discussions with those who could give him first-hand knowledge, and for persuading people to work together, and to work with him. He was a first-class behind-the-scenes man.

The second, which follows from the first, is his complete disregard of the boundaries of party politics in matters affecting science, education or machinery of government. He worked readily with all who could help the task forward.

Haldane and the Army

So much for Haldane's approach and ideas. Now as to how he applied them. My first instance comes from defence. I have apologised to Captain Falls for making a raid on his territory. But defence provides much the best example of how Haldane tackled a difficult question of organisation by deciding first what were the objects aimed at.

Col. Dunlop in his *History of the Development of the British Army*, looking for a succinct title for the years 1900-05 (i.e., the five years before Haldane became Secretary of State), calls them "a period of attempted reforms."⁶ Much indeed was attempted in this period and very little was achieved, except the formation of the Army Council and the Committee of Imperial Defence. The reason was that the proposals made in this period were not based on any clear principle. They had no sufficient driving force to overcome the opposition in Parliament, among the Government's own supporters, to anything which might affect the local interests of Militia or Volunteers.

Contrast this with what Haldane achieved. No doubt a threatening foreign situation was a spur to action. But he soon saw that what was needed was an Expeditionary Force—a force complete with each type of unit in due proportions: a force fully equipped, and so organised that it could be mobilised and sent overseas at the shortest notice.

Haldane's scheme of reform was based on the complete acceptance of this principle and its thorough-going application to the whole organisation of the Army.

Moreover, since the strategists had agreed that any attempt at invasion could be dealt with by the Navy and by the Territorial force, organised as our second line of defence, a number of units were no longer required and could be abolished. Thus, efficiency was combined with economy.

There could be no more striking example of a situation being transformed by the application of clear thinking about purposes and first principles. In contrast with the previous Parliamentary stalemate, Haldane's reforms, although meeting with some opposition, were carried through; and the nation got a highly efficient Army organisation.

Haldane and Science

I turn to science: and I take first two instances which show Haldane using the opportunities which came his way to get science applied in a fundamental

way to Government business.

Haldane often spent the week-ends with Sir John and Lady Horner at Mells in Somerset. He tells how, travelling up by train from Mells to London one Sunday afternoon early in the time of the South African War, Lord Lansdowne, then (the Conservative) Secretary of State for War, got into the train at Chippenham:

"We began to talk" (I quote from the autobiography) "and I said to him, 'What we have been suffering from in the South African War is, among other things, that we have not given proper attention to our explosives. They have been eating out the guns and wearing out our resources.' He was struck, and asked me when we got to London to come to dine with him alone. I went, and he said, 'I have been thinking over this. It is evidently a subject which you have studied, and I want you to take the Chair of an Explosives Committee under the War Office and Admiralty which will look into this question.' So I said to him, 'We ought to do what the French have done. They had a Committee, the Chairman of which was their great chemist, Berthelot. You ought to appoint the English Berthelot to be Chairman.' 'Who is he?' said Lansdowne, and I said 'Lord Rayleigh.' He took the matter up, but insisted that I should go on the Committee. I sat on it, with the late Lord Rayleigh as Chairman. . . ."

It was due to this Committee that a Chemical Research Department was added to Woolwich Arsenal in 1903.⁸

The second example concerns the air. Many inventors came to see Haldane when Secretary of State for War. "I saw," he wrote, "that those whom I interviewed were only clever empiricists, and that we were at a profound disadvantage compared with the Germans, who were building up the structure of the air service on a foundation of science." So Haldane appointed an Aeronautical Navigation Committee with himself in the Chair. At the first meeting he pleaded for systematic scientific guidance: "Otherwise," as he added, "we may go pottering about and accomplish very little." But, finding himself too far ahead of his colleagues, he took the matter out of the hands of the War Office and appointed an independent advisory committee for aeronautics with Lord Rayleigh as Chairman.^{9 10}

He also had a section added to the National Physical Laboratory for experimental work on models, and appointed a new Head of what until then had been the Army Balloon Factory at Farnborough, with general instructions to act on the advice of the advisory committee. This series of fruitful measures was the origin of the Royal Aeronautical Establishment at Farnborough.¹⁰

These two instances are impressive. There must have been many other occasions when Haldane's influence was exercised in the same sort of way. But evidence is lacking. There is nothing to show that he had any part in the setting up in 1909 by the Government of the Development Commission, which had wide powers of research. Nor was he concerned with the setting up in 1911 of the Medical Research Committee, the precursor of the Medical Research Council. The reason may be that at the time he was so much engrossed in the reorganisation of the Army.¹¹

Haldane was out of office when the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research was set up in 1916. He was frequently consulted by those concerned

but had no formal part in its establishment.¹²

One asks, therefore, how much Haldane achieved in stimulating scientific research. Let me quote from Sir Henry Tizard's lecture, *A Scientist In and Out of the Civil Service*—I acknowledge with gratitude the help Sir Henry has given me. Sir Henry Tizard says that 25 years ago [i.e., about 1930] the principle was accepted by all political parties "that it was one of the duties of Government to promote scientific research in the interests of the nation" . . . "This was a revolution in political thought, mainly due to the influence of Haldane, reinforced by the experience of war. The chief change since then has been one of scale and range."¹³

I have no doubt that this is a true judgment, and that the real measure of Haldane's influence in science cannot be judged by the recorded achievements. Here, as elsewhere, much of his work was done in private discussions with those who made and influenced policy.

Haldane's Interest in the Machinery of Government

And now for the purely civil aspect of the machinery of government.

In 1905 when Campbell-Bannerman was forming his Government he offered Haldane the post of Attorney-General. This is how Haldane describes his feelings:

"Now the last thing that was likely to appeal to me was the position of a Law Officer. I had had the best that the Bar itself could give me. But that was not the main reason for rejecting anything short of office in the Cabinet. My whole soul had been for years in the effort to bring about reform in higher education and in other departments of administration."¹⁴

Haldane's interest in higher education is clear enough. But what had he done in the years up to 1905 to lead him to speak in these terms of reform of administration?

What is the evidence?

In 1894, Mr. Asquith, when Home Secretary, had appointed Haldane to serve on a Committee on Prison Administration.¹⁵ In 1898 he had been Chairman of a Committee on the organisation and method of working of the Legacy and Succession Duty Office.¹⁶

These two subjects sound pretty arid. Scrutiny of the records has not led me to alter this judgment—nor have I found anything in the work of these committees which bears the imprint of Haldane's mind.

He was also, in 1904, Chairman of a committee on grants to University Colleges.¹⁷ Dr. Lockwood mentions this Committee on pages 238-239. But it is also important from the point of view of machinery of government. The Committee recommended the setting up of a permanent advisory committee, which would not be bound to adhere to a rigid formula in the allocation of all the funds at their disposal. It also recommended that the grants should in future be made to the committee and not to the Colleges.

These recommendations, which were adopted, are two of the essentials of the system of University Grants as we know it today—a system which has worked very smoothly and is universally admired overseas.

No doubt, too, Haldane's work before the Judicial Committee of the

Privy Council had by now encouraged his interest in the conception of an Imperial Court of Appeal, and of a reorganisation of the functions and duties of the Lord Chancellor on the lines which Lord Jowitt describes on pages 228-230.

But all this taken together scarcely accounts for Haldane speaking of "his whole soul" being concerned with the reform of administration.

The explanation? I ask you to dip with me into Beatrice Webb's diaries.

Haldane and the Webbs

The relationship between Haldane and the Webbs is an intricate and fascinating subject. With reluctance I will confine myself to the light it throws on Haldane's interest in the machinery of government and on his methods of work.

Haldane's political ideas differed from those of the Webbs. Each recognised this: but Mrs. Webb tells us that in many ways their different aims could be pursued together or harmonised by compromise and that "whenever and wherever this has been the case Haldane and we" (the Webbs) "have worked together without enquiring too curiously about each other's instinctive aims."¹⁸

Despite occasional differences there was a long and close friendship. In *Our Partnership* Mrs. Webb refers to the absence of friendships in Sidney Webb's life and says that apart from "perhaps Bernard Shaw, and some way down the scale of frank intimacy Haldane, . . . I can think of no other but these two who have been lifelong friends as well as colleagues."¹⁹

And again in 1924 she records a dinner with Haldane. "One of these little confabs" (she calls it) "which we have had now for over thirty years with this fellow conspirator."²⁰

Over many years they worked closely together; they spent much time in each other's company, and the ideas of each must have been very considerably influenced by the other. Here are three extracts from Mrs. Webb's diary, to show how matters went:

August, 1892

"Sunday with Haldane was more remunerative. . . . Talked incessantly about the possibilities of reorganising the Home Office as the Ministry of Labour; perfecting the factory department. Ended in pressing us to write a memorandum for Asquith."²¹

20th June, 1906

"A useful little dinner here" (at the Webbs' house in Grosvenor Road) "last night to help forward Haldane's Territorial Army Scheme."²²

(But for strong friendship with Haldane, who would ever have expected the Webbs to give a dinner to help the Territorial Army Scheme?)

July, 1907

"Had five medicals to meet Haldane and the Gerald Balfours to discuss my scheme—also to convert McVail, the investigator, at any rate not to be hostile to it."²³

(This is the other side of the medal—Haldane being roped in to help some

little conspiracy of Mrs. Webb's about the Poor Law Commission.)

Then again, there are many passages in Mrs. Webb's diary which show her judgment at different periods of Haldane's ways of doing business.

Let me pick a few choice flowers from my anthology.

"Haldane is now an influential man : willing to stand in the background . . . to counsel the Ministers and act as a go-between" (1892).²⁴

"His career is interesting as combining that of a considerable lawyer, an education reformer and an intriguing politician . . . (though the intrigues are always to promote a cause and never to push himself)" (1902).²⁵

"The courtly lawyer with a great capacity for dealing with men and affairs, and a real understanding of the functions of an expert, and skill in using him" (1905).²⁶

"Haldane was as usual busy manipulating civil servants and Ministers to his way of thinking" (1924).²⁷

"He remained throughout his life a behind the scenes man. . . . He had a notable gift for manipulating his fellow-men and for the organisation of business" (1928).²⁸

These extracts go far, I think, to explain the contrast between Haldane's deep interest in the Machinery of Government, and the scanty evidence of positive achievement in this field till we reach the report of the Machinery of Government Committee.

He was never a man who cared about getting praise for what he himself achieved. And much of his best work went in exerting his influence in unseen ways, and in bringing together those who would otherwise have stayed apart.

The Haldane Report

The time has come to write of the report on the Machinery of Government.²⁹ I can only deal with it in the broadest way.

In his autobiography Haldane states that the Committee was appointed at his suggestion. It seems, however, that others had a hand in this. For Edwin Montagu, before becoming Minister of Reconstruction, had been Financial Secretary to the Treasury and the Treasury had given him a memorandum exposing the overlapping between Departments and suggesting a re-arrangement of their duties. In April, 1917, Montagu submitted a memorandum about this to the Reconstruction Committee : and the decision of the Government to appoint the Machinery of Government Committee took place not long afterwards.

The report owes something to many hands. I start by listing the passages in it which seem to me to derive from Haldane's ideas.

First, the Cabinet. Haldane had clear ideas about how the Cabinet should work, and in his autobiography he comments bitterly on the weakness, in this respect, of the Liberal Cabinet in the years before 1914.³⁰ The report defines the purposes for which the Cabinet exists, and sets out the conditions and organisation necessary if it is to do its job properly ; including its size, the need for a permanent Secretariat, and a properly organised agenda.

Second, the formulation of policy. Here the starting point is the phrase, already quoted, about the "duty of investigation and thought as preliminary to action" being more definitely recognised. The report recommended better provision for research, not only in Departments, but in a central Department of Government specially charged with these duties.

Third, a comprehensive scheme for a reallocation of duties between Departments, based on the principle of the nature of the service rendered to the community.

Fourth, improved methods of Departmental organisation and control, including better organisation for financial and establishment work; and better arrangements for inter-departmental discussions and so forth.

Most of these passages, which seem to me to derive directly from Haldane's thought, occur in Part I of the Report. With the exception of certain passages including, in particular, the long chapter on justice, most of Part II does not seem to me to be so close to his mind.

The Webb Reconstruction papers in the British Library of Political and Economic Science contain a set of documents about the Committee. From this and other sources a certain amount can be inferred as to the *provenance* of various ideas.

The passages in the report about the Cabinet follow closely the line of Lord Hankey's evidence to the Committee: and Lord Hankey has authorised me to say this. Sir Maurice, as he then was, had of course worked closely for many years with Haldane on the C.I.D. and they had often discussed these ideas.

On *formulation of policy*, Montagu seems first to have suggested that the Privy Council should be the centre for all the research activities of Government. Haldane disagreed. He thought the Lord President would be too busy with other things. In Haldane's view the head of the Department ought to be essentially a trained thinker—an individual sufficiently detached from party politics to go on in one or two successive administrations and so bring about the continuity of work and knowledge which had proved itself in the 1914-18 war of vital importance in the Committee of Imperial Defence.³¹

It was Mrs. Webb who was the protagonist of some continuous organ of thought, initiative and criticism within each Department.

The passages in the report strongly critical of Treasury control are due to Morant. So perhaps we can attribute to Sir George Murray the more conventional view that "on the whole, experience seems to show that the interests of the taxpayer cannot be left to the spending Department."³²

The Committee papers dealing with the principle on which duties should be allocated between Departments were mainly the work of Mrs. Webb. But there is reason to think that the ideas in these papers were also held by Haldane and Morant.

Some writers seem to me to have over-stressed the importance of the principle of distributing duties according to the nature of the service to the Community. It is not original, since it occurs in the Politics of Aristotle.

"... Again, should offices be divided according to the subjects with which they deal, or according to the persons with whom they deal: I mean

to say, should one person see to good order in general, or one look after the boys, another after women, and so on?"³³

I shall not say much about this attribution of ideas. Given Haldane's methods of work and his long association with some members of the Committee and with others who gave evidence, too much weight should not be attached to who first broached an idea.

Influence of the Report

The Report was published on 7th January, 1919, ten days after the General Election. It was commented on in a leader of *The Times* of that day—one of those leaders which find a few things to praise, but convey a general impression of decidedly cold caution. It was also the subject of a long, glowing tribute in the *New Statesman* four days later.

There is little evidence that the report as a whole ever received close attention from Lloyd George's Government.

If one thinks in terms of specific recommendations, it is surprising how often in the ensuing years the machinery of government has developed on lines different from those proposed in the report. Yet it has had a great and continuing influence for 40 years.

How is this contrast to be explained? Like many other reformers, the Committee attempted too much. Perhaps some of them were afraid of being "nebulous." But it was surely a mistake to imagine that any Committee, in the time available, could devise a workable, detailed blueprint for recasting the whole organisation of Government.

The passages which have exercised most influence are those in Part I which derive from Haldane's own thinking. These have inspired people to look at the machine of government as a whole, and to think of it in terms of the broad simple ideas on which any such conspectus must be based. It has encouraged people to think about the fundamental problems of government. This is its title to fame.

And what did Haldane himself think of the Report? This is what he wrote in one of his daily letters to his mother.

7th December, 1918

"We signed yesterday afternoon the Report of the Great Reform Committee. We are unanimous and it is the first time that Labour has been brought into a common programme with moderate opinion."³⁴

He was clearly disappointed that so little attention was paid by the Government to the Report. And when he took office again as Lord Chancellor in the first Labour Government he tried to follow up one of the recommendations to which he attached importance. He submitted to the Prime Minister (Mr. Ramsay MacDonald) a plan "for a new Committee of Civil Research for investigating and solving problems which arose in connection with civil government, both at home and throughout the Empire." (I am here quoting from Lord Haldane's papers in the National Library at Edinburgh.) "This was exactly analogous to the Committee of Imperial Defence and the Prime Minister similarly was to preside over it. Unfortunately," Haldane continued,

"the Labour Prime Minister was little interested in such subjects."³⁵

But after the fall of the Labour Government, the paper which Haldane had prepared was circulated to Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet, and adopted.

A Committee of Civil Research, as it was called, was thus established in 1925, "charged with the duty of giving connected forethought from the central standpoint to the development of economic, scientific and statistical research in relation to civil policy and administration."³⁶

The Committee marked an important stage in bringing informed outside opinion, particularly economic opinion, to bear on the problems of central government.

That it did not achieve all that was hoped for it was because neither it, nor its successor the Economic Advisory Council, was in sufficiently close touch with the day-to-day work of administration. It was not thus able to bring its full influence to bear on those concerned with forming policy at the crucial early stages.

It was not until World War II, when the Economic and Statistical Sections were established in the War Cabinet Office, that this was remedied, and that economic and statistical research were given their proper place in the central thinking of government.

Haldane and the Institute of Public Administration

Lord Haldane's last contribution to the machinery of government was his connection with the Institute of Public Administration.

In his life of Haldane, Sir Frederick Maurice states that Haldane, finding there was little prospect of official consideration being given to the Report of the Machinery of Government Committee, determined to organise voluntary support for his campaign for the application of scientific measures to administration and, in consultation with Sir George Murray, Sir Robert Morant and others, founded the Institute.³⁷

I do not believe this to be entirely accurate. The first impetus which led to the founding of the Institute came from the Society of Civil Servants in 1918, i.e., before the publication of the Machinery of Government Report. The Society were joined later by supporters from the Association of First Division Civil Servants, representatives of other Civil Service staff organisations and of associations of local government officers. The first activities of this group were two series of lectures given in 1920 and 1921.^{38 39} Haldane's close connection with this movement is shown by the fact that he delivered one of the first series of lectures and wrote the foreword to the second series; while the first lecture of all was given by Sir Robert Morant, who was closely associated with him. Yet another instance of Haldane's unofficial ways of working.

When the Institute was founded in 1922 Haldane accepted the Presidency. He took an immense interest in its work. He delivered the first address ever made to it.⁴⁰

In this inaugural address, Haldane set out the purpose and scope of the Institute: what he said was an embodiment of the general ideas which inspired his work, and which I have sought to portray. In what follows I have tried to summarise it, using his own words, but taking many liberties with the order. I have also followed Haldane's practice of speaking of the Civil

Service when he had in mind all those who give civilian public service.

The Institute (he said) was not an organisation to further the material interests of a class. The best way of furthering its individual interests was for the Civil Service to concentrate on *excellence*.

It was a society formed on the basis of rendering fresh service to the public, by bringing to bear study which implies expert knowledge. Its primary purpose was scientific.

Knowledge can be obtained pretty rapidly but there is needed in addition continuity in policy. This is difficult of attainment in so far as Ministers change periodically. We come back, therefore, in the last resort to the Civil Service itself.

An ideal Civil Service supplies the factors necessary for continuity in administration: and this requires above all common faith in agreed-on ideals.

Efficiency is not an enemy of economy. Efficiency does not mean extravagant administration.

Requirements in personnel must be founded on exact reasons . . . fat must disappear and developed muscle must take its place. The Departments of Government must have their scope and boundaries clearly defined.

Finally, the source of strength of the Civil Service lies in establishing that it is a school of thought which will work in close contact with the universities—the more it develops as a school of thought the more it will appeal to people outside.

These are wise words which have stood the test of time. They recall the few large but simple ideas which I mentioned at the outset.

I have not found it easy to give a true appraisal of Haldane's work over the whole field of the machinery of government. But one thing is certain. The more one studies Haldane's life and work and his relations with his colleagues, the more one is left with a clear conviction of a very great man indeed; simple, unaffected and unselfish and whose fame is secure. A man, moreover, to whom all those who are concerned with the machinery of government owe a very great debt.

¹Beatrice Webb's *Diaries* 1912-24 (edited by Margaret Cole), page 137.

²Richard Burdon Haldane, *An Autobiography*, page 184.

³*Ibid.*, page 30.

⁴*Report of the Machinery of Government Committee*, 1918. Cmd. 9230. Part I, para. 12.

⁵The wide meaning which Haldane gave to research is shown by a note of his in the Webb Reconstruction papers (see note 29 below). This reads "Research Department," as the title of the Central Department envisaged by the Machinery of Government Report, "is hardly adequate to the meaning which ought to be covered. What is implied is continuity in the development of conceptions and of accurate knowledge generally."

HALDANE AND THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

⁶*The Development of the British Army 1899-1914*, by Col. John K. Dunlop (1938), page 119.

⁷*Autobiography*, pages 164-65.

⁸*A Scientist In and Out of the Civil Service*: Haldane Memorial Lecture delivered at Birkbeck College, 1955, by Sir Henry Tizard, G.C.B., F.R.S., page 4.

⁹*Autobiography*, pages 232-33.

¹⁰*A Scientist In and Out of the Civil Service*, page 5.

¹¹*Ibid.*, page 5.

¹²Sir Frank Heath. Article on "Lord Haldane: His Influence on Higher Education and on Administration" (*Public Administration*, October, 1928).

¹³*A Scientist In and Out of the Civil Service*, pages 10-11.

¹⁴*Autobiography*, page 170.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, page 166. Also C. 7702.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, page 165.

¹⁷Report of Committee on University and Colleges (Great Britain) Grant in Aid and Treasury Minutes thereon (Cd. 2422, 1905). Also Sir Frank Heath's article already quoted.

¹⁸Beatrice Webb's Diaries, Vol. II, page 87.

¹⁹*Our Partnership* by Beatrice Webb (1948), page 9.

²⁰Mrs. Webb's Diaries, 1912-24, page 261.

²¹*Our Partnership*, page 32.

²²*Ibid.*, page 345.

²³*Our Partnership*, page 384.

²⁴*Ibid.*, page 32.

²⁵*Ibid.*, page 247.

²⁶*Ibid.*, page 325.

²⁷Mrs. Webb's Diaries, Vol. II, page 31.

²⁸*Our Partnership*, page 96.

²⁹This section makes use of the Webb Reconstruction papers in the British Library of Political and Economic Science.

³⁰*Autobiography*, pages 216-18.

³¹Memorandum by Haldane (paper 16) in the Webb Reconstruction papers.

³²Machinery of Government Report, Part II, Chapter I, paragraph 12.

³³Aristotle's *Politics*, IV, 15.

³⁴Haldane papers in the National Library at Edinburgh.

³⁵*Ibid.*

³⁶Cmd. 2440.

³⁷*Haldane 1915-28* by Sir Frederick Maurice (1939), Vol. II, pages 119-20.

³⁸"The Civil Servant and his Profession." A series of Lectures delivered to the Society of Civil Servants in March, 1920.

³⁹"The Development of the Civil Service." Lectures delivered before the Society of Civil Servants, 1920-21, with a Preface by Lord Haldane.

⁴⁰"An Organised Civil Service." Being the President's Inaugural Address to the Institute of Public Administration (*Public Administration*, Vol. I, No. 1).

DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE COLONIES

The report has been published of the Conference on the Development of Local Government in the Colonies which was held by the Institute, with the co-operation of the Colonial Office, at Queens' College, Cambridge, from 22nd August to 2nd September, 1955. Single copies can be obtained from the Institute at the price of 7/6, to members of the Institute 5/6; for bulk orders the charge is 4/- per copy. Sir John Wrigley, K.B.E., C.B., who was Chairman of the Conference, contributes a foreword to this report, which includes several appendices.

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Administrative Adjustment of a Colonial Government to meet Constitutional Change

By A. A. WILLIAMS, O.B.E.

Mr. Williams's study was awarded the Silver Medal and the first prize in the Haldane Essay Competition, 1956. The author was Deputy Chief Secretary, Singapore.

I. INTRODUCTORY

IF politics be the art of the possible, administration is the art of converting the possible into the practicable. The practice of this latter art has been much in evidence in the Commonwealth in the past ten years, which have seen political developments call for the radical revision of colonial constitutions providing exercise for both the political theorist and the administrative planner, and the task imposed on the administrator to adjust his machine and way of thinking to the imagination of the constitution-maker has frequently called for no less a degree of ingenuity and improvisation, especially when the materials to his hand are less plentiful or less flexible than the ideas they are to serve.

The stages in constitutional revision in the Colonies have varied according to the separate circumstances of each Territory; in some the process has not passed beyond enlargement of the Legislature without corresponding substantial alteration in the nature of the Executive; in others the composition of the Executive has been modified by the introduction of what has been termed a Member or embryo-Minister system of government; and in others there has been progress to the introduction of an almost fully-fledged Ministerial form of government, with a party system in operation.

Each of these revisions has called for some greater or lesser measure of readjustment of the normal administrative machinery of Government. Such readjustment can perhaps best be illustrated from a Territory where the traditional Crown Colony system has given place to the exercise of power by Ministers drawn from the party or parties with a majority in the Legislature, and in recent years Singapore is probably the outstanding example of such a change having been made without the interposition of any temporary or preliminary stage of transition. The constitutional changes effected in Singapore in 1955 called for very considerable changes in administrative arrangements, and the purpose of this paper is to outline the revision which was made. It does not, however, deal with the important subject of finance, for reasons which will be apparent later.

II. CROWN COLONY CONSTITUTION

(i) *Executive and Legislature*

Until April, 1955, the constitution of Singapore was that of a Crown Colony of the traditional type. The administration was conducted by and in the name of the Governor, defined in Colonial Regulations as the single and supreme

authority responsible to and representative of Her Majesty¹ and the holder of an office created and specified by the Singapore Colony Order in Council.² In the performance of his duties he was assisted by the advice of an Executive Council, constituted under the same Order in Council and composed, under the terms of the Royal Instructions to the Governor, of the Governor as Chairman, four *ex-officio* members, two nominated official members, four nominated unofficial members, and two members elected by the Legislative Council from amongst its nominated non-official and elected members.³ But the members of Executive Council had not, as such, any individual or personal authority or responsibility for the acts of the Government; they were required to advise the Governor on matters brought before them, and the Governor was required to consult them in the execution of all powers and duties conferred upon him, except in cases which were, in his judgment, of such a nature that the Queen's service would sustain material prejudice by his consulting the Council, or were too unimportant to require their advice, or too urgent to admit of advice being obtained in the time available for action. The Governor was not required to take the Council's advice, but if he acted in opposition to it he had to report the circumstances to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Laws for the Colony were, in the terms of the Colony Order in Council, made by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council for the peace, order and good government of the Colony.⁴ The Legislative Council was defined to consist of the Governor as President, four *ex-officio* members, five nominated official members and up to four nominated unofficial members, and up to twelve elected members.⁵ (At the time of its dissolution in 1955 the Council did in fact consist of the Governor and 25 members.) The four *ex-officio* members of both the Executive and the Legislative Councils were the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Financial Secretary and the President of the City Council. The membership of Executive Council and the Legislative Council at the end of 1954 is illustrated in Table I.

(ii) *Governor in Council*

The range of business coming before the Governor in Council was very varied. Of the first class of importance were administrative decisions on matters of policy, and the consideration of any legislation necessary to give effect to such decisions. The Governor had, however, to consult his Executive Council (as has already been shown) in the exercise of all powers and duties conferred upon him, with certain exceptions, and these powers and duties, conferred by Ordinance, covered a very wide field and were not all of a uniform degree of importance. They covered the scrutiny and approval of the annual estimates of such major organisations as the Singapore City Council (almost a Government in its own right), and the Singapore Improvement Trust and the Singapore Harbour Board, and the making of all rules and regulations needed to implement and enforce the principal legislation of the Colony; but also included the prescription of scales of fees charged for services rendered by Government departments; the hearing of appeals from a variety of administrative orders which could be made statutorily by departmental officers; and a host of such comparatively minor matters as

TABLE I
Membership of Executive Council and Legislative Council

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL	LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL					TWO NOMINATED OFFICIALS	
	LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL					TWO MEMBERS FROM LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL	
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL	LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL					FOUR NOMINATED UNOFFICIALS	
	LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL					SEVEN OTHER	
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL	LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL					FOUR NOMINATED UNOFFICIALS	
	LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL					E L E C T E D M E M B E R S	

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

the remuneration of auditors employed by public bodies, approval of forms of agreement for the crews of ships, prescription of the scale of medicines to be carried on ships, and notification of a description of poisons.

The Governor in Council was, in short, not only responsible for the determination of policy but was also the authority empowered to undertake a wide range of administrative acts, and it was a striking feature of the old Colonial constitution that one and the same institution was both a policy-making body and an instrument of routine administration.

The Executive Council had, however, no separate Secretariat or office, and was serviced only by a single Clerk who, with his subordinate staff of clerks and typists, was regarded as a member of the Colonial Secretary's office organisation, and was a comparatively junior member of the general administrative hierarchy. The Clerk was responsible for receiving papers approved by the Governor or Colonial Secretary for presentation to Council, for circulating them to Members of Council, for recording the minutes of Council proceedings, and for communicating the decisions taken in Council to the appropriate Secretariat officer. He was not himself charged with any duties of co-ordination or vigilance to ensure that action was taken, and was frequently employed on other Secretariat work in addition to his Council functions. Indeed, as in many other Colonies, his post had not long before been combined with that of Clerk of the Legislative Council, a body which met on the average for one day each month.

In the Executive Council itself there were no standing committees, although *ad-hoc* committees of Members of Council were occasionally appointed to examine particular issues. Generally speaking, it had been the duty of the Colonial Secretary's office to discern and review all aspects of a case requiring the Governor's decision, and to arrange for any necessary inter-departmental consultation.

(iii) Administrative Organisation

The general pattern for the Colony's administrative organisation was reflected in the form of its legislation. Where powers and duties were conferred by an Ordinance they were almost invariably conferred on the Governor in Council, the Governor or the Colonial Secretary, and only in respect of very minor functions were departmental officers named as the responsible statutory functionaries. When Boards or Committees were established by Ordinance to discharge particular duties many of their acts were specified as subject to approval by the Governor or Governor in Council, and the rules or regulations which they might frame to govern their proceedings frequently required the Governor's prior consent.

The main administrative organisation at the disposal of the Governor in Council consisted, for the purposes of this paper, of the Colonial Secretary's office and of the executive Departments. These Departments were the operative agencies for executing the policies and decisions of Government and were each constituted not only to deal with a technical or specialised subject or group of subjects, but also to provide and administer the actual services and institutions relating to those subjects. The Department of Medical Services, for example, provided and administered hospitals, clinics, and health services; the Department of Education administered and staffed a high

ADMINISTRATIVE ADJUSTMENT TO MEET CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

proportion of all the schools in the Colony. Such Departments were staffed at all administrative levels by technical and professional officers, with the assistance of only one or two lay administrators whose functions were generally confined to issues of establishment and finance.

In early 1955 there were 39 Departments in all (exclusive of the Judiciary, the Legal Department, Audit and the Public Services Commission), varying greatly in size, but each treated as a separate unit. They received the directions of Government from the Colonial Secretary, himself the principal executive officer in the Colony. This officer bore the dual burden of responsibility to the Governor for the efficient conduct of the administrative machinery, and of formulating policy proposals for consideration in Executive Council, of which he was himself the principal member. He was also generally the authority named by statute for the discharge of a number of administrative duties in every field of Government activity and the officer to whom many of the powers of the Governor were delegated. It was the Colonial Secretary whom the head of a Department addressed in seeking directions on policy or the settlement of an unresolved difference with a sister Department, and it was the Colonial Secretary who conveyed the decision on the point referred.

This combination of duties, both statutory and executive, also required of the Colonial Secretary that he be the principal spokesman for Government in the Legislative Council. In the broad division of Government's parliamentary business the Attorney-General would deal in the Council with legal issues and the Financial Secretary with financial and economic affairs, and when departmental officers such as the Directors of Education or Medical Services or the Commissioner of Labour were nominated to the Council as official members they would speak on the subjects within the purview of their own Departments. For all other matters, however, and even for the political implications of measures sponsored by his departmental colleagues, the Colonial Secretary was the representative and voice of Government in the legislature and his own final responsibility for accounting for Government's working was recognised and exemplified by the provision in the Legislative Council's Standing Orders that questions relative to public affairs, proceedings pending in the Council or any matter of administration were to be put to the Colonial Secretary.⁶ He could call upon an *ex-officio* or official member to answer the question, but in fact there were few answers not given by the Colonial Secretary himself.

It followed from all these factors that the Colonial Secretary's own immediate staff and office became the principal administrative organ in the Territory, supervising and co-ordinating departmental activity, processing and formulating proposals for the consideration of the Governor, conveying and interpreting policy to Departments, and preparing answers to parliamentary questions and briefs for parliamentary speeches. It was, in fact, a local and miniature but very concentrated and comprehensive Whitehall.

For convenience in handling business this single Whitehall was organised into branches or sections, staffed by officers of appropriate seniority, dealing with the correspondence of the various Departments. The organisation was functional in that the largest branch of the Colonial Secretary's Office dealt with establishment and service matters covering all ranks and ranges of the public service; its other divisions were by subjects, corresponding to the

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

activities of the various Departments and arranged by such groupings as the social and beneficent services, dealing with the Education, Health, Labour and Social Welfare Departments, or the communications and works subjects, dealing with Transport, Civil Aviation, Telecommunications, Public Works and the Meteorological Services. The officers in charge of these branches of the Colonial Secretary's Office dealt with the business coming to them to the extent of giving decision in the name of the Colonial Secretary wherever they judged it within their competence or implied authority by delegation to do so.

(iv) *Finance*

The funds required for conducting the Colony's administration were voted in the annual Appropriation Ordinance, after consideration of the Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure prepared by the Financial Secretary. These Estimates were discussed in detail by the Select Committee on Estimates of the Legislative Council, consisting of all the elected members under the chairmanship of the Financial Secretary, and each Head of Department could be called before the Committee to explain the items relating to his Department. If extra provision became necessary during the financial year, an Application for a Supplementary Vote was presented by the Financial Secretary to the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council (consisting again of all elected members), and the Committee's recommendations were placed before the full Legislative Council for approval. It followed, from the composition of the Finance Committee, that the approval of the full Legislature could be taken for granted.

(v) *Summary*

It can therefore in general be said that the general administrative pattern in Singapore at the end of 1954 was that of a closely integrated and highly centralised machine, with the proposing of policy and the general direction and co-ordination of executive action concentrated in the hands of the Colonial Secretary who was, in a very real sense, both the Prime Minister of the Colony and the executive head of its civil service. The pattern is set out in Table II, and was now very drastically to be changed.

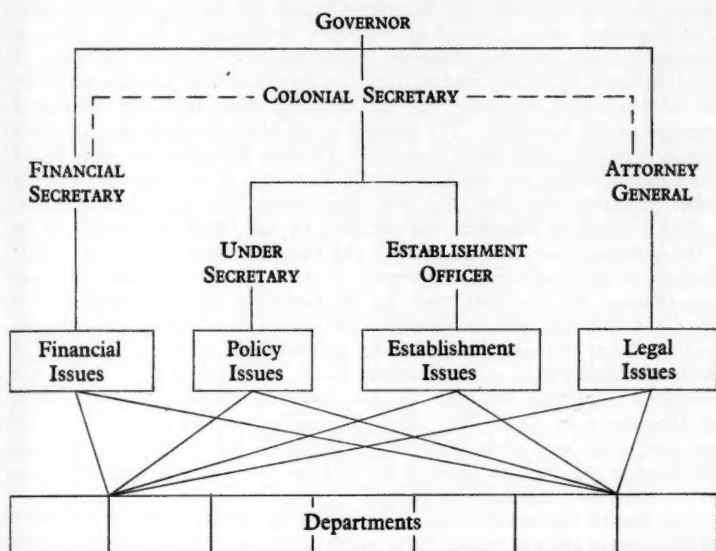
III. CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

The constitution introduced in April, 1955, was based on the recommendations of a Commission appointed in October, 1953, with Sir George Rendel as its Chairman. The Commission made its report in February, 1954, and proposed the creation of a Legislative Assembly of 32 members, of whom 25 would be popularly elected, and a Council of Ministers of nine members, three of whom would be *ex-officio* Ministers and the other six would be drawn from the Legislative Assembly.⁷ The Commission contemplated that the leader of the largest political party in the Assembly would become the "Leader of the House," and as such would discharge many of the functions normally devolving on a Prime Minister in a fully self-governing State. The Governor would consult him on the filling of the Ministerial posts.⁸

The Commission's recommendations were given statutory effect in the Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1955, made on the 1st February, 1955.⁹

ADMINISTRATIVE ADJUSTMENT TO MEET CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

TABLE II
Chain of Administrative Command



Broadcasting
Chemistry
Chinese Secretariat
Civil Aviation
Commerce and Industry
Corrupt Practices Investigation Bureau
Customs and Excise
Defence Services
Education
Estate Duty
Film Censorship
Gardens
Immigration
Income Tax
Labour
Lands
Marine
Marine Survey
Medical Services
Meteorological Services

Museum and Library
National Registration
Official Assignee
Police
Postal Services
Printing
Prisons
Public Relations
Public Trustee
Public Works
Registry of Companies and
Business Names
Registry of Marriages
Social Welfare
Stamps
Statistics
Survey
Telecommunications
Trade Marks Registry
Treasury

A Legislative Assembly was created, to consist of 25 elected members, four members (not being holders of offices of emolument under the Crown) appointed by the Governor in his discretion, and three *ex-officio* members, being the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary. The Executive was a Council of Ministers, consisting of the Governor as President, three *ex-officio* Ministers (being the three *ex-officio* members of the Legislative Assembly), and six Ministers appointed from amongst members of the Legislative Assembly but not including more than one nominated member of the Assembly. The number of six Ministers from the Assembly was in February, 1956, raised to seven.¹⁰ Of these Ministers one, to be styled the Chief Minister, was appointed by the Governor in his discretion and the other Ministers were appointed after consultation with the Chief Minister.

The Council of Ministers was declared by the Order in Council to be "the principal instrument of policy," and Ministers were in the same Order declared to be "collectively responsible to the Assembly."¹¹ Each Minister was charged, by directions made by the Governor after consultation with the Chief Minister, with responsibility for certain departments and subjects, and provision was also made for the appointment, where need arose, of Assistant Ministers to assist Ministers in the discharge of their duties and functions. Assistant Ministers are not, however, members of the Council of Ministers. By April, 1956, after the constitution had been in force for one year, there were seven Ministers, including the Chief Minister, although the number was reduced again to six in June, and two Assistant Ministers drawn from the Legislative Assembly.

The Rendel Commission had, in proposing the establishment of a Council of Ministers in order to ensure that as much executive responsibility as possible be taken by elected representatives of the people, not only specified the size of that Council but also recommended an outline of the contents of each Ministerial portfolio.¹² The size of the Council was governed largely by the proposal to have three *ex-officio* Ministers dealing with defence, internal security, external relations, judicial affairs and finance, as this arrangement involved specifying a number of non-official Ministers of sufficient strength to ensure that the latter group would always be in the majority in Council. The figure of six was initially chosen and accepted, and was subsequently increased to seven as mentioned earlier. The contents of the six portfolios were recommended by the Commission as :

1. Commerce, Industry, Shipping, Agriculture, Fisheries ;
2. Labour, Immigration, Social Welfare ;
3. Education ;
4. Housing, Lands, Administration of adjacent islands, Town and Country Planning, Local Government ;
5. Civil Aviation, Communications, Public Works ;
6. Health.

The three *ex-officio* Ministers were to be the Chief Secretary (formerly the Colonial Secretary), the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary. The Chief Secretary's portfolio was to include internal security, defence,

ADMINISTRATIVE ADJUSTMENT TO MEET CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

the Colony's part in external affairs (a not inconsiderable subject in a Territory where seven Commonwealth countries and 27 foreign States had diplomatic representation), and a variety of other subjects covering public relations and broadcasting, statistics and elections, as well as responsibility for all establishment policy and organisation and methods. The Attorney-General was to retain his general responsibility for legal advice, the drafting of legislation, and the conduct of prosecutions, and the Financial Secretary was to be the Minister in charge of Treasury and fiscal policy.

In respect of the actual administration of these portfolios the Commission observed: "To ensure that these departmental responsibilities will be carried out with the degree of efficiency which is desirable, we consider it important that each of the six Elected Ministers should be assisted by a senior and experienced official who would not sit in the Legislative Assembly but would hold a rank and perform duties corresponding broadly to those of Permanent Under Secretaries of State in the United Kingdom Ministries, i.e., would be responsible for the day-to-day administration of the Department, for formulating recommendations on policy for the Minister's consideration and for ensuring that policy decisions of the Minister and the Council of Ministers were put into effect."¹³ This recommendation was eventually embodied in the Order in Council, which prescribed that there should be for each Ministry a Permanent Secretary, being a public officer appointed by the Governor in his discretion and exercising, subject to the general direction and control of his Minister, supervision over the department or departments for which his Minister was responsible.¹⁴

IV. ADMINISTRATIVE ADJUSTMENT

The keynote of the initial process of adjustment of the Government machine to the new political circumstances was clearly to be decentralisation. It was essential that there be the fullest recognition of the fact that the advent of Ministers meant the creation of Ministries in the normally accepted sense, in complete contrast with the Nigerian experiment of 1952 when it had been sought to service nine elected Ministers, as well as three *ex-officio* Ministers, from the still completely unified Chief Secretary's Office. The physical problems of the office accommodation for Ministers and their headquarters staffs were the most obvious and in many ways the simplest to be solved, but the offices themselves had to be adequately organised and staffed, equipped with the experience and records to enable the Minister to master his subject, and armed with the authority to enable his constitutional responsibility to be reflected in executive action. These requirements could, broadly speaking, be met only by substantial transfer and devolution from the focal centre of the old constitution, the Colonial Secretary and his office. At a latter stage questions of co-ordination of the activities of the new Ministries were to assume greater prominence, but the cardinal need at the outset was taken to be the construction of the new framework of nine Ministry organisations. The constitutional recommendations of the Rendel Commission were published in February, 1954; these had to be discussed locally and with the Secretary of State; the registration of an electorate with the franchise there proposed was estimated to take some six months, during which time the delimitation of electoral divisions' boundaries would also be

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

determined, and with April, 1955, eventually fixed as the time for the first elections a period of some twelve months was available for planning and effecting the administrative changes needed to match the new form of Government.

(i) Accommodation

The accommodation problems concerned the provision of new offices for the Council of Ministers and for each of the six Appointed Ministers. It was decided that the Council offices and Council room should be situated at Government House, as the Governor was President of the Council of Ministers and the building was sufficiently large to allow of space being found by internal structural alteration without any need to build new wings or separate office buildings. In the same way the six new Ministry offices were all provided within the buildings already housing the principal Departments of each portfolio.

(ii) Organisation and Staffing

The organisation of the new Ministries was a more difficult matter. The Rendel Commission had proposed the contents of each portfolio after considering the distribution of duties and volume of work existing at the time, but had pointed out that experience might show some different grouping of duties to be desirable. Their proposals were examined in detail and were found, having regard to all the circumstances, to constitute a very fair basis for the administrative planning needed to set up Ministries in advance of the Ministers taking office although it was, of course, always possible that when Ministers were first appointed some further re-adjustment might be required. In the event, however, the new Ministers accepted the proposed division of responsibilities in allocating portfolios, and the result, as at April, 1955, is shown in Table III.¹⁵

In planning the new Ministries there were two instances, those of Commerce and Industry and of Health, where little more was needed than the transformation and rechristening of two existing major executive Departments. An almost equally simple case was the Ministry of Education, constituted by adding to the existing Department of Education, which had dealt with secondary and primary education, the Government's responsibilities in respect of higher education and the new Singapore Polytechnic, and the small department of the Raffles Museum.

The circumstances of the other three Ministries were more involved. The Ministry of Labour and Welfare was constituted by grouping together under a small headquarters unit the three previously separate Departments of Labour, Social Welfare and Immigration, and in the same way the five Departments of Public Works, Civil Aviation, Meteorological Services, Posts and Telecommunications become divisions of the new Ministry of Communications and Works. The sixth Ministry, of Local Government, Lands and Housing, added to the two Departments of Lands and Survey all Government dealings with the two local government organs—the City Council and the Rural Board—and with the Singapore Improvement Trust, the instrument for town planning and housing. It also undertook responsibility for the administration of the small islands surrounding the main Island.

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The Ministries of the three *ex-officio* Ministers called for adjustment also. The Chief Secretary's Office was contracted in proportion to the transfer of work to his elected colleagues, but an increase of work was involved for the other two official Ministries. It was decided that the revenue-producing Departments of Customs, Income Tax and Stamps should come into the Treasury portfolio, and the Attorney-General took into his charge the trust Departments of the Official Assignee and the Custodian of Property.

The Order in Council establishing the constitution prescribed that there should be a Permanent Secretary as the Civil Service head of each Ministry, responsible to the Minister for the working of the Ministry. An organisation for each Ministry was planned accordingly, with Deputy and Assistant Secretaries in the headquarters unit in such strength as seemed necessary in each case. The general pattern was not, however, one of superimposing an administrative headquarters over one or more executive Departments, as available staff had to be employed to the most economical advantage, and many of the less technical Departments were already headed by officers of the administrative cadre of the Service. Some Heads of Departments, such as the Directors of Education and of Medical Services, had indeed held nominated official seats in the old Legislative Council and answered there for the working of their Departments. It did not therefore follow that all Permanent Secretaries were to be laymen from the ranks of the Colonial Administrative Service, or that an extra tier, of Permanent Secretary grade, was to be imposed over all Departmental heads. In his published Despatch, commenting on the Rendel Commission proposals, the Governor, while welcoming the recommendation for the appointment of a Permanent Secretary for each Ministry, had observed that much would depend on the selection of appropriate officers and that the eventual choices would probably include both administrative and technical officers, each selected according to the particular circumstances of each case.¹⁶ Selection for the posts of Permanent Secretary was made on the basis of appropriate experience and seniority; in the event it was found that in four Ministries (Commerce and Industry, Education, Health and Local Government, and Lands and Housing) the head of the principal constituent Department became the Permanent Secretary, with some additional administrative strengthening provided at lower levels, and with no specific replacement as a departmental officer; and for each of the other two Ministries (Labour and Welfare, and Communications and Works) a new Ministry headquarters unit of a Permanent Secretary and Assistant Secretaries, all drawn from the Administrative Service, was set up over the combination of technical and professional Departments which had been grouped together.

It was, however, understood that where a professional or departmental officer had become Permanent Secretary the arrangement was not necessarily a permanent pointer to the future line of succession, and it might well be that on the occasion of a vacancy a Permanent Secretary drawn from a technical Service would be replaced by a layman, and *vice versa*.

There were in addition the three Ministries of the *ex-officio* Ministers—the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Financial Secretary. Here there was little to call for re-organisation; each of these Ministers had already, as a civil servant, been serviced by an office of well-established

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TABLE III
CONTENTS OF PORTFOLIOS

<i>Minister</i>	<i>Departments</i>	<i>Subjects</i>
Minister for Commerce and Industry	Commerce and Industry : Agriculture Co-operative Development Exchange Control Fisheries Forests Imports and Exports Control Supplies Veterinary Services Marine Marine Surveys Registry of Companies, Business Names, Patents and Trade Marks	Trade Policy Commerce Industry Production Foreign Exchange Administration Shipping Port Services
Minister for Labour and Welfare	Labour Social Welfare Immigration	Labour Workmen's Compensation Social Security Welfare Public Assistance Immigration
Minister for Education	Education Raffles Museum and Library	Education including relations with Univer- sity of Malaya and Singapore Polytechnic
Minister for Local Government, Lands and Housing	Land Office Survey	Lands Local Government Town and Country Planning Housing Administration of adjacent islands

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<i>Ministers</i>	<i>Departments</i>	<i>Subjects</i>
Minister for Communications and Works	Civil Aviation Meteorological Services Postal Services Public Works Telecommunications	Communications (excluding shipping and port services) Road Transport Railways Civil Aviation Works Telephones
Minister for Health	Medical and Health	Public Health
Chief Secretary	Police Prisons Chemistry Chinese Affairs Local Forces Public Relations Printing Broadcasting Film Censorship Gardens Statistics Registry of Marriages	External Affairs Pilgrimage Naturalisation Defence Internal Security Press Legislation Religious Affairs Ceremonial Elections Registration of Births and Deaths Establishment Organisation and Methods
Attorney-General	Legal Official Assignee Public Trustee Custodian of Property	Legal Affairs
Financial Secretary	Customs Income Tax Estate Duty Stamp Duty Accountant General	Financial Policy Banking Insurance Currency Exchange Control Policy

records and routine, capable of ready conversion into a Ministry by little more than change of nomenclature, and it remained only to designate the second most senior officer in each of these Ministries as its Permanent Secretary for the purposes of the Order in Council.

At the apex was the office of the Council of Ministers, headed by a Clerk whose post was specified in the Colony Order in Council, and who was also Secretary to the Governor, the President of the Council.¹⁷ The Clerk's functions were, at the outset, those carried out under the old constitution by the Clerk of Executive Council, but his office and staff were now a complete unit entirely separate from any other Government organisation and were clearly to assume increasing importance as time went on.

The expansion in staff requirements at the administrative level imposed a great strain on existing resources of officers of experience. It also provided further stimulus to the development of two features of personnel administration which had been planned in the period immediately preceding the new constitution—the institution of a system of regular staff training, and the establishment of an Executive Service. The staff training school had been started early in 1954 to meet a long-felt want in establishment organisation, and for the administrative cadet in particular training courses came to lay increasing emphasis on the machinery of government under a system of ministerial responsibility. Training could not of itself, however, add to the number of experienced administrators, and in Departments the task of many of these had been the heavier because of preoccupation with day-to-day routine in the absence of any intermediate grade of officer between the administrative and the clerical classes. A scheme for the introduction of an Executive Service had been prepared, but its implementation was the subject of long discussion owing to the conflicting claims and interests arising out of the existing complicated and far from uniform subordinate service salary structure and grading, and the new service had not taken shape when the constitution came into force. The need for it has, of course, become increasingly clear and is well appreciated on all sides; when practical difficulties have been solved and a class of executive officers has taken its place in the establishment framework, the relief to the administrative grade and the improvement in Ministry working should be substantial.

(iii) *Records and Procedure*

One of the more important physical preliminaries to starting the new constitution was the decentralisation of records. Existing departmental office records provided, on policy issues, a presentation of the case as the Head of Department had seen it and an intimation of the Government decision. The exact processes by which that decision had been reached and the interdepartmental and other consultation which might have been required, as well as the full range of precedents, were to be found only on the Colonial Secretary's Office files. It followed that practically all files held there dealing with subjects which were to be the responsibility of other Ministries had to be extracted and forwarded to those Ministries for providing the nucleus of their headquarters archives. The files so transferred were limited in the first instance to those in action in the last two years of the old constitution, i.e. 1953 and 1954, together with a detail of all others of older vintage which could

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then be called by a Ministry if desired. The process was spread over some months, but by April, 1955, some 40 to 50 per cent of all files of the Colonial Secretary's Office of the years 1953-55 had been transferred to their new homes.

The assumption of office by Ministers naturally called for much reorientation of outlook by civil servants, and not least as regards administrative practice by those officers who now found themselves at or near the official headship of the new organisations. Material which had previously been passed to the Colonial Secretary with recommendations now required complete processing within the Ministry concerned so that the Minister could present a paper to the Council of Ministers as a self-contained statement, and if prior consultation with another Ministry was required it was for the originating Ministry to take the initiative in arranging this as the Colonial Secretary's Office no longer existed as a central clearing house for the purpose. A manual of administrative procedure had been prepared for the guidance of Ministry headquarters staff on the handling of Council of Ministers and Legislative Assembly business affecting their Ministries as well as on general secretariat routine, and the adoption of the new outlook was facilitated by the appointment to Ministry staffs of officers versed in the practice of the Colonial Secretary's office, in so far as sufficient of these were available for such transfer.

(iv) *Adaptation of Laws*

The process of reorientation of administrative outlook was reinforced by the adaptation of the laws of the Colony to the new constitutional circumstances. Previously the statutory powers enabling the general administration of Government to be conducted had been exercised, according to the specifications in the appropriate section of each Ordinance, by the Governor in Council, the Governor, the Colonial Secretary or (in a very few instances) a Head of Department. There had also been provision for the delegation to other officers of powers conferred on the Governor in Council or the Governor.

It was inherent in the new constitutional changes that when Ministers assumed office they should be vested not only with responsibility but also with the legal authority enabling that responsibility actively to be exercised. Provision had therefore been made in the Order in Council for transfer, by order of the Governor, of functions, powers and duties conferred or imposed on any person or authority by existing instruments to such other person or authority as might be specified in his order. This provision could remain operative for a period of one year from the date of the Order in Council coming into force.¹⁸

A review was accordingly made of all legislation governing subjects to be included in the portfolios of the Appointed Ministers and of the Attorney-General in order to determine the powers which could and should appropriately be exercised by the Ministers in future. The opportunity was also taken to seek relief for the Governor in Council from the large number of statutory routine references which were made for his orders under the then existing legislation, and which because of their routine nature tended to convert the Governor in Council into an instrument of everyday administration. It was desirable to keep the Council of Ministers as free as possible for the

consideration of issues of policy and major questions. The review of legislation therefore aimed both at constitutional propriety and at administrative decentralisation.

In making the review account had to be taken of certain specific reservations of authority to the Governor contained in the Order in Council, such as those dealing with grants and disposition of Crown lands, and of the likelihood that there were many powers which, even if transferred to a Minister as the competent exercising authority, would as a matter of constitutional practice probably be discussed in Council. The transfer of authority was to Ministers only, leaving it to them to consider at a later stage in the light of their own practical experience whether they would wish to have some of their powers delegated to permanent officials.

The review resulted in a series of Orders by the Governor, transferring to Ministers statutory powers under 93 Ordinances and 56 sets of Rules and Regulations made under the Ordinances.¹⁰

(v) *Membership of Statutory Boards and Committees*

An important feature of Singapore administration was the large number of statutory Boards and Committees. Some, such as the Singapore Harbour Board and the Singapore Telephone Board, had been established to render a vital service to the community or to control an important commercial undertaking; others, such as the University Council and the Singapore Polytechnic Board, were charged with the administration of a major institution; others administered certain trust funds; others, such as the Singapore Improvement Trust, acted as agencies for giving effect to general Government policy in a field such as that of housing; others again assisted, like the Education Board and the Hospitals Board, in the administration of major subjects without having the status of autonomous bodies charged with full responsibility.

The existence of all these statutory bodies, which were far from conforming to a general pattern in status, composition or objects, made the new administrative scene the more complicated because of two particular features of their membership. One was that in all cases one or more Government officers had been appointed to the Board, usually by office, in order to ensure close liaison with Government policy, especially in the field of finance (and the Colonial Secretary and the Financial Secretary were frequently specified for this duty); and the other was that in many instances places on the Board were filled by election by the Legislature, in order to obtain non-official representation on these bodies and to provide non-officials with experience of public administration.

Both features became at once out of date. It was clearly no longer appropriate that the Legislature should elect some of its members to seats on a statutory body when there was now an elected Minister responsible for the relevant subject. Legislation was accordingly necessary to transfer to the Minister the power of appointment to the seats in question.

It became even more anomalous that officers such as the Chief Secretary or the Financial Secretary, now *ex-officio* Ministers, should be members of bodies dealing with subjects for which one of their elected colleagues might be answerable in the Legislative Assembly. Their replacement by other

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officers of more appropriate rank and department would still raise the question of how far the Minister could be held accountable for the action of an autonomous or semi-autonomous body because Government had a voice on the Board when that voice was in the minority and the Board's actions might well be such as the Minister did not approve. The approach to this problem was left to Ministers themselves to decide, and the first main decision, after rather more than one year's working of the constitution, was to replace the *ex-officio* Ministers who held seats on statutory bodies, leaving the issue of Government membership through serving officials for review in the light of further experience.

(vi) Finance

A still greater subject left over for further development was that of finance, as regards both provision of funds and public control of expenditure. A constitution providing for an *ex-officio* Minister in charge of finance was clearly only transitional, and it was felt that until a representative Minister was in charge of the Treasury that body should not exercise any of the discretion normally allowed under representative government. While Estimates and Budget procedure therefore remained much as before there was also little change in the arrangements for obtaining supplementary funds, and the Finance Committee of elected members of Legislative Council of the old constitution was replaced under the new régime by a Committee of Ministers, so that proposals submitted for the Legislature's approval would have the backing of representative members of the Government aware of the support on which they could count in the Legislative Assembly.

V. OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS

It was natural that the new administrative machinery did not immediately meet all the requirements of a new situation of which few people in Singapore could have had personal knowledge or experience elsewhere. In particular, the deliberate decentralisation and readjustment of a highly centralised and integrated organisation was bound to create almost as many problems as it sought to solve. It is not proposed here to enter into all the questions which were raised, but there were perhaps two major administrative outstanding issues to which, at the end of a year's working of the new constitution, satisfactory solutions had not been found. Of these one related to the general design of the machine, and the other to certain of its constituent parts, and neither was by any means peculiar to the circumstances of Singapore.

The first of these issues arose out of the decentralisation which was an essential feature of the reorganisation. The Crown Colony form of constitution had provided for an unmistakable point of co-ordination of all Government planning and activities in the office of the Colonial Secretary, no matter whether few or many of the executive Departments were involved. There had been no danger of a policy or a project being presented for the consideration of the Governor in Council without all appropriate and relevant views having been assembled and marshalled. This result might have been achieved by inter-departmental consultation or by discussion and correspondence in the Colonial Secretariat, but achieved it was before the Colonial Secretary agreed to put the issue forward for discussion and direction in Council. Under the

new system, however, the Colonial Secretariat had changed from a central co-ordinating office to a Ministry dealing only with certain specified subjects, and its function of co-ordinating administrative detail for the purpose of policy planning did not devolve on any visible successor.

The first requisite to meet this new situation was to insist on the absolute necessity of full inter-departmental and inter-Ministry consultation before an issue was presented to the Council of Ministers. The new code of procedure in fact laid down as a precept what had in the United Kingdom become a tradition of consultation arising out of practical necessity.²⁰

There was already a limited basis of practice to provide a background of example of the need for such consultation, as most references to the Executive Council of the Crown Colony days had had first to be cleared with the Financial Secretary's Office and with the Attorney-General on financial and legal issues respectively, and Permanent Secretaries were asked to see that this consultation was extended into other spheres. It did not, of course, follow that agreement between Ministries was always reached, and unresolved issues had then to be referred for the directions of Ministers themselves.

In specified fields of activity definite co-ordinating machinery at administrative level was prescribed. The main instance was in regard to public works, where a Standing Committee on Public Works had existed under the old constitution to review the public works building programme and expenditure; this was now charged with the duties of examining all proposals for development expenditure, of keeping the rate of such expenditure under review, and of reporting, where required, on the means of ensuring co-ordination in the execution of projects by different Departments or jointly by the Government and a statutory authority. Its membership was enlarged to include the presence of any Permanent Secretary who might be required to attend.

A second specific subject for co-ordinated planning and execution was the field of economic policy. In the general colonial pattern of administrative development the increasing importance of economic issues and of the need to plan for them had been met by various devices: in some Colonies by the creation of a post of Development Secretary, taking over from the Colonial and Financial Secretaries responsibilities for such subjects as the exploitation of natural resources and the promotion of trade and industry; in Singapore by the appointment of a Secretary for Economic Affairs, subsequently replaced by a Director of Commerce and Industry whose charge covered agriculture, forestry, fisheries, supplies, import and export control, general marine administration, foreign exchange transactions, trade relations, and industrial development. This Department had been converted into a Ministry dealing with the same subjects, but the subject of general economic policy was in the new constitution placed in the portfolio of the Financial Secretary, to secure close liaison with, and ultimate control by, the Treasury. The new Government, with socialist principles, did not find these arrangements satisfactory as a basis for the economic survey and planning on which their main policies were to be founded, and a new organisation was soon established in the shape of a small secretariat under an Economic Adviser to the Chief Minister, constituted as a section of the Chief Minister's Office. It was, however, understood that the services of the Economic Adviser were available to all

Ministries and Departments, who were to refer to him directly on projects on which they sought advice or consultation. His office soon became the organisation responsible for such general subjects as the planning of long-term capital needs and development and the co-ordination of departmental views and general planning of a new census, as well as the agency making enquiry into the basic factors governing the economy of Singapore. There ceased to be any special significance in the attachment of the unit to the Chief Minister's Office, other than the consideration that the Treasury, which was perhaps the obvious parent body, was still the charge of an *ex-officio* Minister, and when further amendment of the constitution sees the transfer of all portfolios to representative Ministers the Economic Adviser might well become an official of the Treasury. The need for his specialised functions was again emphasised in the Government's policy statement in the Governor's Address at the opening of the second session of the new Legislative Assembly.²¹

At a higher level a second line of development was the use of the Committee system amongst Ministers themselves. A number of special reports on major subjects had been called for by the new Government soon after taking office, and the recommendations in those frequently covered the activities of more than one Ministry. The Report of a Committee on Local Government, for example, dealt not only with the structure and jurisdiction of local government bodies to be considered by the Ministry of Local Government, but also proposed the assumption by the Colony Government of a number of functions exercised by the City Council, and these functions related to the portfolios of at least three of the other Ministries.²² A report such as this required the close consultation of the Ministers primarily concerned before a co-ordinated statement of Government policy could be evolved for presentation to the Legislature.²³

At one time it had indeed appeared that there might evolve an office clearly responsible for co-ordinating all policy planning and for keeping all administrative co-ordination under regular review. This development might have arisen out of the growth of the Chief Minister's Office, but its progress rested largely on the accident of personalities. The Constitutional Commission had, as already shown, envisaged the leader of the majority in the Legislative Assembly becoming Leader of the House and advising the Governor on the appointment of Ministers; the Secretary of State for the Colonies thought that the title of Chief Minister would be more appropriate,²⁴ and it was the title of Chief Minister which was used in the Constitution Order in Council. It seems to have been generally imagined during the framing of the constitution that the Chief Minister would also hold a departmental portfolio, and this was in fact the arrangement when the first new Ministry took office, as the first Chief Minister was also Minister for Commerce and Industry. In his conception, however, the functions of Chief Minister could be adequately undertaken only if the Chief Minister had no personal portfolio responsibilities, and the Order in Council was modified early in 1956 to allow of seven Ministers instead of six being appointed from amongst elected members of the Legislative Assembly.²⁵ The Chief Minister then transferred his portfolio of Commerce and Industry to a new colleague. The arrangement was one suited to the dyarchical feature of the constitution reserving certain subjects to *ex-officio* Ministers, for it was natural that these

would be at pains to shape the administration of their Departments according to the basic policies of the representative Ministers, and references to the Chief Minister would be frequent. It was also in keeping with, and perhaps partly the product of, other innovations in the system of administration; a special session had been arranged each week for petitioners from the general public to seek the assistance of the Chief Minister, and the reports and correspondence to which these meetings gave rise covered a very wide section of the whole field of Government activity and provided the occasion for review of existing policy as well as the means of redressing individual grievances. Continuance of these methods would very probably have led eventually to the emergence of the Chief Minister's Office as the chief point of co-ordination in the administrative machine both for the formulation of policy and for the supervision of the execution of decisions.

Later in the year there was, however, a change of Government, and the new Chief Minister found it practicable to limit the Council of Ministers to six elected members of the Legislative Assembly (including himself) with the three *ex-officio* Ministers, and to combine the duties of Chief Minister with charge of the portfolio of Labour and Welfare. The development of the Chief Minister's Office as a focal centre of administration accordingly found itself arrested for the time being. The way may become open for the possible alternative of strengthening the standing of the Council Secretariat, which already has the advantage of enjoying a central position by reason of specification of the Council of Ministers in the constitutional instruments as "the main instrument of policy." It remains to be seen whether this second development will take place; it has a sound constitutional and administrative foundation which might make for greater permanence than the influence of a Chief Minister's secretariat necessarily varying with the personal ideas and methods of successive Chief Ministers, and this foundation may be especially valuable for the time in the not far distant future when *ex-officio* Ministers will be replaced by representative Ministers and the need for a special link, outside the Council room, between the two classes of Ministers will disappear. It may be, of course, that there will eventually be combination, as in the Gold Coast, of the posts of Secretary to the Chief Minister and Secretary to the Council of Ministers.

The second main administrative question prompted by the first year's work of the Rendel constitution concerned the internal organisation of certain of the Ministries. Where a major executive Department of the Crown Colony days was to become the sole or major part of a new Ministry it had seemed reasonable to transform its Director into the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry, with some additional administrative support. But Departments such as Medical Services and Education had been concerned not only with policy on educational and medical matters and the supervision of its general application, but with the actual provision, maintenance and administration of the operative services themselves. The Head of the Department was therefore constantly required to deal with a host of departmental questions of an essentially technical and professional nature and he had been able to give by far the greater part of his attention to this task, being able to rely on the Colonial Secretariat for assistance in formulating the wider policy issues and dealings with the Treasury. The new changes gave him the additional

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duties of Permanent Secretary, calling for the constant detailed briefing of his Minister for Council and Legislative Assembly and the periodic preparation of White Papers and other policy statements, and at the same time deprived him of the lay administrative assistance which the Colonial Secretariat had provided. It became increasingly difficult for him to continue to exercise the major control of the technical operations of his Department, and correspondingly clear that the duties of Permanent Secretary to a Ministry and professional Head of an executive technical Department could not be readily combined. The further development of this situation and its ultimate outcome are still to be clarified, but the issue has presented itself as a major question of organisation.

In the field of more detailed operation of the new constitution there was in addition a third problem, stemming in part from the old position of the Governor in Council as the principal instrument of executive administration but now constituting an obstacle in the development of Cabinet government. Ordinances had conferred on the Governor in Council appellate powers in respect of statutory orders made by departmental officers, and a peculiar position could result. A society seeking registration so that its operations would be lawful and refused registration by the Registrar on grounds of security (a vital matter in a territory of heterogeneous population and Communist neighbours) can appeal to the Governor in Council;²⁶ a teacher who has been refused registration as such by the competent education authority can not only appeal to the same august body but even exercise a right of personal appearance before it.²⁷ There are other examples, but these two serve to illustrate not only how matters of detail can consume time at Cabinet level but also how the Cabinet has to entertain individual cases (which might well be left to the Ministry concerned) of the application of policy. To prescribe policy in advance for the treatment of such cases can, however, be met by the legalistic view that where an Ordinance empowers an officer to make a decision and the Governor in Council to decide an appeal from his decision, the Governor in Council is precluded from giving directions on policy to govern the original decision because then the officer is deprived of the discretion vested in him by statute and the Governor in Council cannot consider the appeal with the requisite impartiality. Such a result might have been normal and acceptable in the old Crown Colony days when most of this legislation was drafted and colonial government was largely a matter of administration and seldom a matter of policy planning, but it is quite unsuited to the advanced constitutional development now in progress. It could hardly be cured in the process of adaptation of the laws mentioned previously as more is involved than the transfer of powers and functions, and a problem is presented both of the fundamental conception of the Council of Ministers and of the correct perspective for operating regulatory controls. The solution seems to lie in providing for the initial decision, in cases such as that quoted, being that of the Minister without specifying a right of appeal, and to leave it to the Minister to consider delegating his power in such circumstances and to such officers as he deems appropriate, indicating to that officer the policy to govern his actions and being himself accountable for those actions on the normal principle of ministerial responsibility.

The subjects just mentioned are only some of the more prominent issues

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which have arisen out of the past 18 months' experience, and many others will no doubt soon arise. A new code of financial procedure, in particular, has still to be evolved. To seek, however, or even to attempt to define, perfection in administrative organisation is an undertaking generally held to be impossible of achievement. Stimulus in the search is none the less perpetually being supplied in the Colonies by the never-ending process of political change, and the constitutional experiment in Singapore certainly caused a radical departure from the old colonial conceptions and methods. With further constitutional advance already in view it would be presumptuous and premature to pass judgment on administrative changes so recently effected, but it is worth remark that as their very magnitude escaped public attention this is therefore perhaps a measure of their success, and it may not be unreasonable to hope that the general lines of development which have been followed will be found well capable of conformity with the political changes of the future.

¹Colonial Regulation 105.

²Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1946 (S.I. 464 of 1946), Section 4.

³Royal Instructions to the Governor and Commander in Chief of the Colony of Singapore, dated 27th March, 1946, as amended 24th February, 1948, and 23rd April, 1951.

⁴S.I. 1946 No. 464. Section 28.

⁵*Ibid.* Sections 16-17.

⁶Standing Orders of the Legislative Council of Singapore. S.O. 20.

⁷Report of the Constitutional Commission, Singapore 1954. Paragraphs 28 and 61.

⁸*Ibid.* Paragraph 68.

⁹Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1955. (S.I. 1955 No. 187.)

¹⁰Singapore Colony (Amendment) Order in Council, 1956. (S.I. 1956 No. 233.)

¹¹S.I. 1955 No. 187. Section 18.

¹²Report of Constitutional Commission. Paragraph 63.

¹³*Ibid.* Paragraph 67.

¹⁴S.I. 1955 No. 187. Section 31.

¹⁵Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1955 (Responsibilities of Ministers) Notification, 1955.

¹⁶Governor's Despatch No. 349, dated 11th March, 1954. Paragraph 15. (Singapore Legislative Council Sessional Paper No. 34 of 1954.)

¹⁷S.I. 1955 No. 187. Section 34.

¹⁸*Ibid.* Section 5.

¹⁹Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1955 (Consequential Provisions) (Council of Ministers) Order, 1955. Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1955 (Consequential Provisions) (Miscellaneous) Order, 1955. Singapore Colony Order in Council, 1955 (Consequential Provisions) (Council of Ministers) Order, 1956.

²⁰Sir Ivor Jennings, *Cabinet Government*, page 130.

²¹Singapore Legislative Assembly Debates. Vol. II, No. 1, Col. 17.

²²Report of the Committee on Local Government. Singapore Legislative Assembly Sessional Paper Command No. 10 of 1956.

²³White Paper on Local Government Policy. Singapore Legislative Assembly Sessional Paper Command No. 30 of 1956.

²⁴Secretary of State for the Colonies' Despatch No. 698, dated 23rd April, 1954, paragraph 11. (Singapore Legislative Council Sessional Paper No. 34 of 1954.)

²⁵S.I. 1956 No. 233. Section 3.

²⁶Section 4, Societies Ordinance. (Cap. 224, Laws of Colony of Singapore.)

²⁷Section 26, Registration of Schools Ordinance. (Cap. 203, Laws of Colony of Singapore.)

A Modern Approach to Management

By J. V. WOOD

This is the basis of a talk given to the Northern Group of the Royal Institute, 3rd May, 1957. Mr. Wood was Staff Director of the Northern (N. and C.) Division of the National Coal Board.

BEFORE we consider the problems of management, I think we must look at some of the problems brought about by the process of civilisation. The world is in the course of undergoing an industrial revolution of enormous magnitude. Whether we like it or not, we are all being subjected to the results of increased industrialisation which brings great benefits—and considerable disadvantages.

Industrialisation gives us more leisure because greater productivity leads to economic wealth. But, against that, it leads, for many of us, to more strain, more work and more responsibility. Men cannot work when they want to and go fishing when they do not. They must keep to the time-table or go on the dole. There is more luxury—and more slavery. Industrialisation leads to more comradeship. People are brought together in communities instead of leading isolated lives in the backwoods. But it also brings with it the great loneliness one gets in a big city.

Industrialisation brings more economic freedom. There is more freedom to choose the kind of job one wants. But livelihood is often more precarious because people are thrown out of jobs, or have to change their employment, because of world forces over which they have no control and which they probably do not understand. Industrialisation is an impersonal and almost inevitable process which is very hard to control. It brings great opportunities for good and for evil. It can make life much easier and it always brings great human problems.

The greater the rate of industrialisation the greater are these human problems. I consider that it is the duty of management to think in terms of these problems; the problems of the individual and also the problems of the community in which he lives. Unless managers try to appreciate personal problems they will never fully understand the problems of a pit or a factory or an industry. I do not think it exaggeration to say that under the skin of the civilised man there is the savage and that under the skin of the adult there is often the questioning and bewildered child. Industrialisation has changed the world more in the last 100 years than it has changed in the previous two thousand. Most people have not kept abreast of the change, do not understand it and feel helplessly caught up in something that is too big for them. As Housman said:

“ I a stranger and afraid
In a world I never made.”

There are many worries that beset people in our industrial society, e.g., the conflict of loyalties between home and work and between trade union and employer. The anomalies brought about by rapid industrialisation—skilled men made redundant by machines and young typists earning more than their craftsmen fathers. The boredom of mass production—and mass

everything else. The fear of world events that seem uncontrollable. The changes in class—events lifting some people up in the social scale and pushing others down. These difficulties are often the underlying causes of industrial troubles that are laid at the door of "bad management" or "Communism" or "the modern spoon-fed generation."

I want to look at some of the problems of management today, but hope I will not give the impression that I know all the answers. I am only too well aware of the fact that, even when I think I know some of the answers, I find it very difficult to follow my own advice.

The Problems of Full Employment

It is now no use saying "You must do what I say or you will get the sack." The big stick is no use any more. The sack is no hardship if a man can get another job across the street and the opportunity for organised labour to press their demands is much stronger than in the past.

Apart from giving an attractive wage, management has to encourage people to work for their organisation. This may be brought about by bonuses, etc., and also by welfare schemes of one kind or another. But welfare must not be overdone. It used to be that "paternalism" was a delightful idea. But we have now come to realise that paternalism also has its dangers—it can destroy the initiative and dignity of the workpeople. However, management must play its part in the community which serves the factory or the pit or the office. They must do that, not only as individuals, but also as employers. To some extent industry is today filling the role of the patron which used to be filled by a responsible aristocracy of the past.

There is the greater emphasis on personnel management. This is seeing that the individual's problems are dealt with, not as a side issue of management, but as things of importance in themselves. Seeing that people get the kind of training they really need; that working conditions are right; that grievances are handled effectively by (for example) ensuring that price-fixing schemes and promotion policy is working properly; and that there are suggestion schemes, provision for invention awards and the like.

Then there is the necessity for sheer efficiency. If management cannot get enough workpeople they may have to reorganise a department, or the whole organisation, to do the same job with less people. This means Organisation and Methods and Work Study; logical studies of the job to make sure that unnecessary work is cut out.

Economic Conditions

Again there is Method Study and the like to make the organisation as efficient as possible. Only in that way can one meet competition from others. But management also has some responsibility for the cost of living. This is not a function of the Chancellor of the Exchequer alone. Any fool can agree to higher wages and try and get his money back by higher prices. Not only will he, sooner or later, price himself out of the market, but he will be adding to the inflationary trend. In a very large industry, or one which is a monopoly, a responsible management must be very careful that they are not encouraging inflation. They must have, amongst other things, a progressive and a sensible wages policy and adequate ways of dealing with wage problems. This means

a conciliation machinery that really works; with arrangements for a final recourse to an independent arbitrator whose decision will be acceptable to both sides.

They must also tackle the problem of shortage of materials. If economic conditions are bad, materials will almost certainly be scarce. They will almost certainly be expensive as well. One tackles this by ensuring that materials are saved by better design, by substituting less scarce materials and by reducing stocks. Both in the management's own interests, and in the interests of the country, it is obviously their job to see that stock levels are kept low, that other people's craftsmanship is used and not left on the shelf; and that they help their own and the country's finances by reducing capital stocks (and thus interest payments).

Problems Associated with the Growth of an Industry

This is a problem which we in the coal industry have encountered. We have come from 800 odd companies to one enormous organisation and the teething problems have naturally been considerable. We have had to develop the technique of controlling, and living together in, a large organisation.

There is first the use of management control techniques which are necessary in any business but essential in a large organisation. There must be forecasting. Management must know where they are going. They must have the best estimates on future results and requirements so that the capital may be available, so that they can plan production, obtain the necessary labour, and get the materials needed. Allied with this there must be cost control; what it is costing to do a particular job, why particular costs are high and so on. And increasingly there must be methods such as budgetary control and standard costing. Forecasting, budgetary control and cost control are really different aspects of the same method; deciding what can or should be done and finding out why it has not happened that way; measuring efficiency and having quick ways of finding out where there is inefficiency.

There is room for enormous improvement in statistical control in many industries. There are often so many statistics that it is hard to understand anything at all. What one must do is to reduce the number of returns and produce statements that really tell the management what is happening. The number of types of figures collected must be kept to a minimum—this requires ruthless action. Figures should be presented in a simple form—and compared with the standard or forecast—and it should not be left to each senior man to work out the difference between actual and forecast. The aim must be to provide figures which give quick pointers to the things that management consider vital—and have in reserve other figures to enable those particular things to be further analysed if necessary. If the statisticians work out all the figures available, and serve them up to management, they are ensuring that management will never know what is going on.

Another big problem, which is acute in a large organisation, is the problem of letting people know how the organisation works—the problem of communications generally. This is one of those problems where most of us know the disease, but few know the remedy. The disease is often that people are working too much in watertight compartments and do not know enough

of what is going on outside their own door. Alternatively, they may think they know what is going on and, with scant knowledge, spend much time complaining that the fellow who is designing the policy does not know his job. In fact the problem of communications is the problem of ignorance. The problem of how to tell people the facts—of explaining to them not only what the policy is, but also why.

I think the main method of attack must be in training generally. Special training schemes to help the individual to see his position in an organisation. Induction courses so that when a man comes into the organisation he is told who does what—what the various departments are for, what their main functions are, and so on. When a man has been with the firm for a period he is ready for more. This need can be met by background talks—by people hearing senior officers describing their jobs, describing the policy and so on—and, indeed, also by giving people an opportunity to ask their seniors questions.

There is, of course, also the most important problem of training on the job itself. In a small firm one can, perhaps, appoint a new clerk and he can pick up the job as he goes along. But in a large organisation that is much more difficult and it is essential that he should have training on the job. All too often one finds people filling up forms that they do not really understand and sending them on to other people—having no idea what those people are doing with them. If that is happening, the management are failing because a man can never do a job very well if he does not know why he is doing it.

Rapid Development

There are the problems of rapid development—new skills to be learnt and new processes to be developed. Not only technical development, but also organisational changes brought about by events such as nationalisation. Here we meet the full force of man's traditional resistance to change. All I can say on this is that management must let the people concerned know what is going on, and why. It takes up a lot of time—but it is well worth it.

In this country we have developed joint production committees and consultative committees—which mean discussing with representatives of the workmen the day-to-day problems of management. It does not mean passing responsibility for management to the consultative body. One of the basic principles of management is that, if you give a man authority, he must also be responsible; and, if he is responsible, he must have authority. If, therefore, management are responsible for something they must have power to make decisions; and that power cannot be passed to any outside body such as a consultative committee. But that does not say that the consultative council is a mealy-mouthed body which has no function. A great deal of good can come from discussions about problems. A good manager is not the man who says "I have decided to do so and so"; he is the man who gets the consultative committee to suggest a solution to a problem—perhaps the one he has planned all along.

To some extent the effectiveness of a committee is determined by the personalities of the men on the union side; but to a far greater extent it

rests on whether the management are trying to make consultation work or whether they think it is a waste of time.

The Psychological Approach

Many people seem to react against the word "psychology" as the late Field Marshal Goering is said to have reacted against the word "culture" and for the same reason—they do not know what it is. Much of it is common sense; thinking about a situation with your head and not letting your emotions do the thinking for you. Psychologists try to take a balanced and sympathetic view of industrial problems. They are not long-haired cranks; or shall we say not all of them are?

For example, Elton Mayo did valuable work in Chicago on morale. He did not assume that the workmen he was dealing with were idle boneheads. He tried to improve working conditions and showed that he was trying to help and asked for advice from the men. The reaction was marked. Whether or not he did anything for them perhaps did not matter greatly; he treated the men as though they mattered and were not just cogs in the machine. That lifted their dignity and their morale—and their productivity.

People matter and their relations with each other matter. A happy but badly organised factory may produce more than a streamlined modern factory where there is jealousy and bickering. And any amount of exhortation or "pep" talks or method study will not really cure the unhappy factory. Only improved morale will do that. We have all heard of and condemned restrictive practices—but have we looked at them objectively? When we were at school we complained of the boy at the top of the class—he was a "swot" as he showed up the others. A factory with poor morale can react in this way too.

I think it was Professor Mace, of London University, who expressed the opinion that, when management said about workmen "the more we do for them the less they do for us," this showed nothing except that management had been doing the wrong things. That is a point of view worth thinking about. Indeed, management will find that a study of much industrial psychology and social anthropology is worth while—Elton Mayo, Mace, Mary Parker Follet and others. But they will also find that there is little new about it and that the teachings of Christ, Buddha and many others have a great bearing on these problems.

The Ideal Manager or Administrator

Having looked at some of these problems of management, let me try and describe what I consider to be the qualities of the ideal Administrator or Manager:

- (a) The Manager or Administrator must be able to organise. He must lead his team. Very often the art of leadership is in not letting men know that they are being led. Leading by example is usually better than imposing every decision. If a man is doing a job because he thinks it is right, he will do it much more effectively than he will if he has only been told to do it. The Administrator or Manager must also be able to handle committees because they are a very necessary tool of manage-

ment. Do not think any fool can run a committee ; the art of chairmanship is well worth studying.

- (b) He must be able to use specialists. The whole process of civilisation is getting so complicated that one man cannot know all the answers. A hallmark of the Administrator is that he knows how to use his specialists and co-ordinate their services. He must have sufficient knowledge of human nature, and the overall problem, to know when to accept a specialist's advice and when not. He must be able to bring these various specialists together and make them work as a team ; a tricky job needing tact and patience.
- (c) He must have judgement to know when to lay down a standard procedure ; he must often introduce "red tape." "Red tape" is only designing a procedure which you know will suit most circumstances so that a lot of day-to-day decisions can be taken at a fairly low level. The good Administrator will see that these procedures are introduced ; but he will also see that he does not keep rigidly to those procedures and nothing else. He must be flexible.
- (d) He must be able to sort wheat from chaff. He must be able to pick out points that matter and ignore those that do not. He must be able to look at the problem in the round and not from one narrow aspect. And he must be able to do all this quickly—getting to the essentials of a paper rapidly.
- (e) The Administrator must be able to create conditions in which policy can be decided. That is to say, when a major point is to be settled he must prepare a case giving the facts and showing the pros and cons to enable higher management to reach a sensible and balanced decision. In doing so he must be able to distinguish between true policy questions and questions of day-to-day practice. When he has got a policy decision he must be able to turn it into detailed instructions that are not ambiguous and are workable.
- (f) He must learn to delegate. This is one of the biggest failings of so many Managers and Administrators ; they try to do all the work themselves. Not only must he decide when to delegate and when not to delegate, he must ensure that, when he is intending to delegate something to a man, that man is able to discharge the function it is proposed to delegate to him and has both the ability and resources necessary. And the Manager must also check from time to time that his subordinate is correctly discharging the responsibilities delegated to him. This is vital. On the one hand management must delegate—and not interfere. On the other hand they must not delegate a function and forget about it—they must hold their subordinates to account. The balance between these two extremes is not easy to find—and what is right for one job or man may not be right for the next.
- (g) The Manager must appreciate that he will not always be a Manager—he must provide for his own succession.
- (h) A senior man must have good health—and see that he keeps it. The rate of coronary thrombosis has increased tenfold in the last 30 years ; the

A MODERN APPROACH TO MANAGEMENT

reason for this is not established but the number of senior executives who are knocked out of the running in their forties and fifties by one disease or another is causing increasing concern. This is a problem of our modern society and therefore a problem for management; but it is the problem of management more than anyone else as it affects them most.

- (i) Finally, an Administrator or a Manager must have integrity. If he really means what he says he will find that men respond to his exhortations. If he is really genuine in saying "yes" and "no," his work will be accepted. If he is to administer a public service he must have that integrity which pays full regard to the interests of the public.

It is, of course, clear that I am not talking about Managers or Administrators but about Archangels. The harsh fact is that, with the increasing complications of industrialised society, the job of a senior Manager or Administrator is getting more and more difficult. And the qualities required are increasing. That is one of the reasons why there is much more training and education now than there used to be. It is one of the reasons why we find it so hard to find suitable men for senior management. They must be tough, they must have integrity, and they must have darned good brains. But, above all, they must have regard to the personal and other problems that beset their fellow men.

THE CORPORATION OF SECRETARIES, LTD.

Founded
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Incorporated
1923

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Security Precautions in the British Civil Service

ON 23rd November, 1955, the Prime Minister informed the House of Commons that a Conference of Privy Councillors had been set up with the following terms of reference :

“ To examine the security procedures now applied in the public services and to consider whether any further precautions are called for and should be taken.”

The Conference consisted of the following Privy Councillors :

The Lord President of the Council ;

The Lord Chancellor ;

The Secretary of State for the Home Department ;

The Lord Jowitt ;

The right hon. Member for Lewisham, South (Mr. H. Morrison) ;

The right hon. Member for Vauxhall (Mr. G. R. Strauss) ;

The Permanent Secretary to Her Majesty's Treasury.

In March, 1956, the Government issued a White Paper (Cmd. 9715) indicating the substance of the report of the Conference and the Government's views on its recommendations. In the words of the White Paper :

4. The report starts by an analysis of the general nature of the security risks with which this country is faced today. The Conference point out that, whereas once the main risk to be guarded against was espionage by foreign Powers carried out by professional agents, today the chief risks are presented by Communists and by other persons who for one reason or another are subject to Communist influence. The Communist faith overrides a man's normal loyalties to his country and induces the belief that it is justifiable to hand over secret information to the Communist Party or to the Communist foreign Power. This risk from Communists is not, however, confined to party members, either open or underground, but extends to sympathisers with Communism.

5. At one time the Fascist ideology also presented considerable security risks. Although today the chief risk is that presented by Communism, the security arrangements instituted in 1948 were directed, and will continue to be directed, against Communism and Fascism alike. In this paper for convenience and brevity the term “ Communism ” is used to cover Communism and Fascism alike.

6. One of the chief problems of security today is thus to identify the members of the British Communist Party, to be informed of its activities and to identify that wider body of those who are both sympathetic to Communism, or susceptible to Communist pressure and present a danger to security. Thereafter steps must be taken to see that secret information is not handled by anyone who, for ideological or other motives, may betray it.

7. Her Majesty's Government agree with this broad analysis and will

continue to base their policy on preventing persons of this nature from having access to secret information.

8. Against the background of this general analysis, of which only a very brief outline has been given, the Conference address themselves to an examination of the Government's security arrangements. Their main conclusion is that there is nothing organically wrong or unsound about those arrangements. They make, however, certain recommendations, the purpose of which is to strengthen the system in some respects. Her Majesty's Government propose to give effect to all the recommendations which the Conference have made.

9. The Report of the Conference deals with the public services generally. But it is implicit in the Report that the Conference recognise that in certain areas of the public service—notably in the Foreign Service, the Defence field and the Atomic Energy Organisation—the need for stringent security precautions is greater than elsewhere. Her Majesty's Government accept this view.

10. Some of the recommendations of the Conference deal with what may be called the relation between security risks and defects of character and conduct. The Conference recognise that today great importance must be paid to character defects as factors tending to make a man unreliable or expose him to blackmail, or influence by foreign agents. There is a duty on Departments to inform themselves of serious failings such as drunkenness, addiction to drugs, homosexuality or any loose living that may seriously affect a man's reliability.

11. There is a natural reluctance to make adverse reports on colleagues and nothing could be worse than to encourage tale-bearing or malicious gossip. Nevertheless, it is important to impress not only on Heads of Departments but on supervisory officers generally that it is their duty to know their staff and that they must not fail to report anything which affects security. This covers both evidence which suggests Communist associations or sympathies, and also serious defects or failings which might jeopardise the security of the section of the public service in their charge. The Government accept this recommendation, although they recognise that the measures necessary to give effect to it will require very careful consideration.

12. While confining themselves to the security aspect of these defects of character and conduct, the Conference also record the view that in individual cases or in certain sections of the public service, a serious character defect may appropriately be the determining factor in a decision to dismiss a particular individual or to transfer him to other work.

13. The Conference also recommend that it should be recognised that the fact that a public servant is a Communist not only bars his employment on secret duties, but may also in some Departments have an unfavourable effect on his prospects of promotion.

14. The Conference also make a series of recommendations which turn on the risk presented by those in regard to whom there is no evidence that they are themselves members of the Communist Party, but evidence exists

of Communist sympathies or of close association with members of the Communist Party.

15. The Conference is of the opinion that in deciding these difficult and often borderline cases, it is right to continue the practice of tilting the balance in favour of offering greater protection to the security of the State rather than in the direction of safeguarding the rights of the individual. They recommend that an individual who is living with a wife or husband who is a Communist or a Communist sympathiser may, for that reason alone, have to be moved from secret work, and that the same principle should be applied in other cases of a like nature.

16. The Conference recognise that some of the measures which the State is driven to take to protect its security are in some respects alien to our traditional practices. Thus, in order not to imperil sources of information, decisions have sometimes to be taken without revealing full details of the supporting evidence. Again, it is sometimes necessary to refuse to employ a man on secret duties, or in those cases where no alternative work can be found for him in the public service, to refuse to employ him at all, because after the fullest investigation doubts about his reliability remain even although nothing may have been proved against him on standards which would be accepted in a Court of Law. The Conference agree regretfully that these counter-measures, although they are distasteful in some respects, are essential if the security of the State is to be ensured. But they recognise that it is also important to convince public opinion that the measures taken and the procedures in force will not be exercised unreasonably. For this reason the Conference approve the Tribunal (commonly known as the Three Advisers) set up in 1948 to hear appeals from civil servants threatened on security grounds with transfer from secret duties or, when that is not practicable, with dismissal from the Service. This machinery should continue; and the person whose continued employment in Government Service is called in question on account of Communist association or sympathies will be able to have his case considered by it. The Conference also recommend that the terms of reference of the Three Advisers should be widened so as to enable them to present a fuller report to the responsible Minister.

17. The measures necessary to carry out these recommendations will involve alterations in existing procedures. These alterations will be notified to the staff associations concerned and an opportunity given for representation to be made before the alterations are promulgated in full. This paper is therefore confined to giving the broad details of the decisions reached on those recommendations which can be properly made public.

18. Two other matters should be mentioned. The first is that the Conference considered whether additional statutory powers should be sought to enable the Government to detain suspects or prevent them from leaving the country.

19. The Conference point out that, while an individual can be arrested on suspicion that he is about to attempt to convey secret information to a foreign Power, he must be brought before the courts on a charge without delay. The time required to collect evidence upon which a charge can be

based is often long, and the Conference dismiss any suggestion that power should be sought to detain persons for an unlimited period without preferring charges against them, on the grounds that this would run counter to this country's traditional principles of individual freedom, and would be most unlikely to be approved by Parliament in time of peace. They also come to the conclusion that legislation which would permit arrest and detention, without a charge being preferred, for a short specified period, say, fourteen days, would not be much help. The Conference also consider that the withdrawal of a passport could not be relied upon to prevent a United Kingdom citizen in connivance with a foreign Power from leaving the country.

20. For these reasons the Conference recommend that no additional powers should be sought to detain suspects or prevent them leaving the country.

21. The second matter is that the Conference reviewed the existing procedures for the security of secret Government contracts involving persons outside Government employment. The Conference have considered whether persons subject to these procedures should be given the same right as is enjoyed by persons in the public service of having their case considered by the Three Advisers. The Conference recognise that this is a difficult matter, but are in favour, if suitable arrangements can be made, of access being given to the same tribunal in certain types of cases. They recommend, however, that in the first instance this matter should be discussed with the National Joint Advisory Council. Arrangements for such discussion to take place are being made.

Thus states the White Paper.

The White Paper was debated in the House of Commons on 21st March, 1956. Consultation with the staff interests then took place. On 29th January, 1957, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, in a written answer to a Parliamentary Question, announced a new procedure to give effect to the recommendations of the Conference. It was in the following terms.

STATEMENT OF PROCEDURE TO BE FOLLOWED WHEN THE RELIABILITY OF
A CIVIL SERVANT IS THOUGHT TO BE IN DOUBT ON SECURITY GROUNDS

1. The Minister¹ will have before him information on which to decide whether the reliability of the civil servant is *prima facie* to be regarded as in doubt on security grounds. A civil servant will be so regarded if:

- (a) He is, or is to be, employed in connection with work the nature of which is vital to the security of the State; and simultaneously:
- (b) He is or has recently been a member of the British Communist² Party, or in such a way as to raise reasonable doubts about his reliability, is or has recently been sympathetic to Communism, associated with Communists or Communist sympathisers, or is susceptible to Communist pressure.

SECURITY PRECAUTIONS IN THE BRITISH CIVIL SERVICE

No statement of general application can be made as to what constitutes sympathy or association under (b) above. Each case will be assessed in the light of the particular facts.

2. If the Minister rules that there is a *prima facie* case, the civil servant is at once to be so informed and will normally be sent on special leave with pay, care being taken as far as possible not to disclose the reasons for his absence to his colleagues.

3. The civil servant will at the same time be given any particulars, such as the date of his alleged membership, or the nature of the alleged sympathies or associations, that might enable him to clear himself. There will, however, have to be limits to the information given for he cannot be given such particulars as might involve the disclosure of the sources of the evidence.

4. At the same time the civil servant will be asked to say whether he accepts or denies the allegation. If he accepts the allegation he will be dealt with as described in paragraphs 9 and 10 below. If he does not admit the allegation he shall have fourteen days in which to make written representations to the Minister if he so wishes.

5. The Minister will reconsider his *prima facie* ruling in the light of any representations the civil servant may make. If the Minister decides that there is no reason for varying it, the civil servant shall be so informed and shall then have seven days in which to decide whether to ask for a reference to the Three Advisers. If he does not ask for such a reference he will be dealt with as in paragraph 8 below. If he does ask for a reference to the Three Advisers the latter will be asked to consider the case as soon as possible.

6. The function of the Three Advisers is set out in their Terms of Reference. Where there is no suggestion of Communist or Fascist associations or sympathies, cases of character defects will not be referred to the Tribunal, and appeals will be dealt with under the normal disciplinary procedure of Departments.

7. In discharging their functions the Advisers will take into account the representations made by the civil servant. They will hear him in person, if he so wishes. He may also ask third parties to testify to them as to his record, reliability and character, but he may not be accompanied and/or represented by a third party before them. In the special circumstances of these cases the proceedings must be governed by the requirement that neither sources of evidence nor evidence which might involve the disclosure of sources can be given to the person concerned. The Advisers will therefore count it as an important part of their functions to see that anyone appearing before them can make his points effectively and will adapt their procedure in such a way as to give him the best possible opportunity of bringing out the points which he wishes to bring to their notice.

8. On receiving the report of the Three Advisers, the Minister will reconsider his *prima facie* ruling and if he decides to uphold it, he will give the civil servant an opportunity of making representations to himself or his representative before action is finally taken. Similar opportunity will be given when the civil servant does not wish his case to go to the Advisers.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

9. If the *prima facie* ruling is finally upheld, a civil servant will be posted to or retained in a non-secret branch within his own Department, or, if this is not practicable, will be posted to a non-secret branch in another Department. If he belongs to a category which it is impossible to employ in any other than a secret branch, or if his qualifications or experience are such that no alternative employment elsewhere in the Government service can be found, he will have to be dismissed unless he accepts the option, which should always be afforded in such cases, of resigning.

10. Before a decision to re-post, or in the last resort, to dismiss (with resignation as the alternative), is made effective, the civil servant's staff association should be afforded an opportunity of suggesting any alternative re-posting that it may think more suitable, or of suggesting a possible re-posting as an alternative to dismissal or resignation.

11. If a civil servant resigns or is dismissed the existing Superannuation Acts provide automatically for certain consequences in his superannuation benefits. These consequences are set out in the attached Annex (which follows).

APPLICATION OF THE SUPERANNUATION ACTS

Established Civil Servants

1. Dismissal or resignation of officers under age fifty entails the loss of benefits under the Superannuation Acts.

2. Officers aged fifty and upwards may resign voluntarily and receive at sixty the pension which had accrued to them at the time of their resignation.

3. Officers of any age who take up employment in another public service to which the Transfer Rules and Public Office Rules apply, would be eligible for the arrangements which may be made under those Rules. It should be noted that, if they are to be applied, the prior consent of the head of the Department is required to the change of employment.

Unestablished Civil Servants

4. Officers who have completed seven years' service and who resign or are dismissed will receive the benefits to which they are entitled under the Superannuation Acts.

TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE THREE ADVISERS³

1. It is the policy of Her Majesty's Government that no one who is or has recently been a member of the British Communist Party or of a Fascist organisation or who, in such a way as to raise legitimate doubts about his reliability, is or has recently been sympathetic to Communism or Fascism or associated with Communists⁴ or Communist sympathisers or is susceptible to Communist pressure, should be employed in connection with work the nature of which is vital to the security of the State.

SECURITY PRECAUTIONS IN THE BRITISH CIVIL SERVICE

2. You have been appointed to advise Ministers in any cases referred to you whether in your opinion their *prima facie* ruling that an individual comes under paragraph 1 has or has not been substantiated. In doing so you should answer the following questions :

- (i) Are there or are there not reasonable grounds for supposing that the individual has or has recently had Communist sympathies or associations of the type described in paragraph 1 above ?
- (ii) If you are in doubt about the answer to (i) above, how do you assess the evidence whether presented to you or elicited at the hearing before you ?

3. In answering these questions your aim should be to give the Minister the utmost help in deciding himself what course to take.

4. If you agree with the *prima facie* ruling you should specify your grounds. If you do not agree with the *prima facie* ruling or do not reach a firm opinion in any instance you should assess the evidence for the Minister reporting the weight which you have attached to particular factors.

5. You should in all cases take precautions to safeguard any very secret sources from which any of the information bearing on the conclusions has been obtained.

6. In the appreciation of a case defects of an individual's character should be taken into account when they bear upon his reliability in the general context of Communist associations or sympathies. (Where no question of such associations or sympathies arises, cases of character defects will not be referred to you, but appeals will be dealt with under the normal disciplinary procedure of Departments.)

7. A decision on what employment is to be regarded as involving "connection with work the nature of which is vital to the security of the State" is not one for you, but for Ministers in charge of Departments. Your functions do not extend beyond advising Ministers as set out above.

EFFECT OF THE CHANGES

The most important change in procedure is the new definition of a security risk. Under the previous definition a risk was defined as broadly a Party member or a person associated with the Party in such a way as to raise legitimate doubts about his reliability. The new definition brings in the person who is sympathetic to the Party's beliefs or who associates with those holding such beliefs or sympathies and in addition those who are susceptible to Communist pressure.

The second main change involves more emphasis on the part to be played by the Three Advisers in helping the Minister to reach the final decision whether or not the risk is to be removed from a secret post or if necessary from the Service. The Three Advisers are asked in cases of doubt to assess the evidence and to provide the Minister with all the help possible to enable him to reach his decision.

The Three Advisers at the time of the announcement were :

Sir Alexander Little, K.C.B. (Chairman), Director-General, General Post Office, 1949-55.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Sir Frederick Leggatt, K.B.E., C.B., Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Labour, 1942-45.

Sir William Bowen, C.B.E., formerly General Secretary, Union of Post Office Workers; Chairman, London County Council, 1949-52.

With Sir Maurice Holmes, G.B.E., K.C.B., Permanent Secretary, Board of Education, 1937-45, as the Reserve Member.

Sir William Bowen has since resigned and his place has been taken by Mr. G. A. Stevens, formerly Deputy General Secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers.

ATTITUDE OF THE STAFF SIDE .

Though the National Staff Side were consulted and their views taken into account before the Government announced the new procedure, the Financial Secretary made it clear that the Staff Side were not parties to the new procedure and dissented from it on certain points. An account of discussions that have since taken place between the Official and Staff Sides is given in the *Whitley Bulletin* for April, 1957. That issue also gave the following figures of dismissals and transfers on security grounds provided by the Official Side in a letter dated 8th March, 1957 :

Transferred to non-secret work	..	..	81 (a)
Dismissed	..	..	24 (b)
Resigned	..	..	23
Reinstated	..	..	30
Special leave pending decision	..	..	1
			<hr/> 159 <hr/>

(a) Including 20 industrial.

(b) Including 17 industrial.

¹That is, the Minister responsible for the Department to which the civil servant belongs.

²In this Statement of Procedure, for convenience and brevity the term "Communist" is used to cover Communist and Fascist alike.

³The previous Terms of Reference were announced to the House of Commons on 7th June, 1948.

⁴In these Terms of Reference, for convenience and brevity the term "Communist" is hereafter used to cover Communist and Fascist alike.

Interest in Local Government

The N.A.L.G.O. Survey

BETWEEN 1st and 6th April, 1957, more than 10,000 members of the National Band Local Government Officers Association visited, in their spare time, 195,000 householders in all parts of England and Wales, and put to them ten questions. Of the total, 9,700—5 per cent.—refused to be interviewed, and 5,300—3 per cent.—were not at home.

The remaining 180,000 who answered the questions included 140,600 men and 39,400 women. Of these, 67 per cent. lived in homes with a rateable value of £30 and under, 31 per cent. in homes valued between £31 and £75, and 2 per cent. in homes valued at £76 and over.

The questions, and the answers they gave, are set out below, the answers being shown as percentages of the householders questioned.

1. Do you think that local government is important in your daily life?

Yes	..	..	..	86
No	..	..	..	7
Do not know	..	..	..	7

Of the men questioned, 88 per cent. said "Yes" and 5 per cent. did not know; of the women, 81 per cent. said "Yes," 12 per cent. did not know. Proportions saying "Yes" increased from 86 per cent. in the lowest to 92 per cent. in the highest income groups.

2. Did you vote at the last

	Local Council Election?	County Council Election?	General Election?
Yes	73	57	91
No	25	38	6
Do not know	2	5	3

In the local council election, more men (75 per cent.) voted than women (71 per cent.) and more men and women in the highest income group (92 per cent.) than in the lowest (73 per cent.). The proportions who claim to have voted in all three elections are higher than the proportions of the population who actually voted. This casts some doubt on the truth of the answers, but may be partly explained by the fact that the questions were put only to householders and not to any other members of the family.

3. Do you pay your rates

	In your rent?	Direct to the Council?
Yes	44	48
No	48	44
Do not know	8	8

Do you know how much you pay?

	All	Those who pay in rent	Those who pay direct
Yes	75	55	92
No	25	45	8

The breakdown is significant, showing that nearly half those who pay

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

an inclusive rental do not know how much of it goes in rates, whilst only 1 in 12 of those paying their rates direct did not know the amount.

4. Which of these services are run by local government?

(All are, except labour exchanges, post offices, and driving tests, which are run by central government departments)

	Labour Exchanges	Swimming Baths	Fire Brigades	Post Offices
Yes	14	86	71	11
No	65	6	20	83
Do not know ..	21	8	9	6

	Child Welfare Clinics	Libraries	Driving Tests	Repair of Roads
Yes	79	91	23	92
No	13	5	60	5
Do not know ..	8	4	17	3

Wrong answers were given by 51 per cent. of women and 30 per cent. of men in respect of labour exchanges, by 27 per cent. of women and 14 per cent. of men in respect of post offices, and by 50 per cent. of women and 38 per cent. of men in respect of driving tests.

5. Do you follow Council affairs by

	Yes	No
Attending Council meetings?	6	94
Reading newspaper reports of Council meetings? ..	81	19
Belonging to a ratepayers' or similar organisation? ..	17	83

Would you like to know more about what the Council is doing?

Yes	67
No	25
Do not know	8

Eighty-three per cent. of men said that they read newspaper reports of Council meetings, compared with 74 per cent. of women: 69 per cent. of men want to know more, compared with 62 per cent. of women. Eighteen per cent. of men belong to ratepayers' and similar organisations, compared with 15 per cent. of women.

6. Are you generally satisfied with your local government services?

Yes	65
No	29
Do not know	6

If the answer is "No," what are your main reasons for dissatisfaction?

	Per cent. of dissatisfied	Per cent. of questioned
Too costly	50	15
Not efficient	38	11
Unsympathetic	13	4
Too much ordering about ..	12	3
Other reasons	20	6

INTEREST IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Of those who said that they voted at the last local council election, 66 per cent. were satisfied, 29 per cent. were not satisfied, 5 per cent. did not know. Of those who did not vote, 57 per cent. were satisfied, 32 per cent. were not satisfied, 11 per cent. did not know.

7. Are you satisfied with these particular services?

	Yes	No	Do not know
Schools	70	18	12
Health centres or clinics ..	77	7	16
Housing	53	33	14
Libraries	83	7	10
Parks	80	14	6
Roads and streets	54	43	3
Collection of refuse	81	18	1

More men than women expressed satisfaction with schools, health centres, housing and libraries, but more women than men were satisfied with parks and roads. More in the lower income groups than in the higher were satisfied with schools (70 compared with 54 per cent.), more in the higher income groups than in the lower were satisfied with parks, roads and refuse collection.

8. Have you had any dealings with a Council official in the past 12 months? If you have, were you satisfied with the manner in which he dealt with your problems?

Yes	34	82	} percentages of those saying "Yes" to first question
No	65	18	
Do not know	1	—	

9. Are you, or have you ever been, employed full time by a local authority?

Yes	15
No	85

Of the total, 8 per cent. were present, 7 per cent. were former, employees.

If you are or have been employed in local government, do you consider the pay and working conditions generally

	All answering	Present employees	Past employees
Good?	18	17	19
Average?	46	49	43
Bad?	36	33	38

The percentages are of those to whom the questions applied. Of the men answering, 17 per cent. thought pay and conditions good, 36 per cent. thought them bad; of the women, 27 per cent. thought them good, 24 per cent. thought them bad.

If you have been, but are no longer, employed in local government, why did you leave?

Retirement or marriage	19
For higher pay	33
For better conditions	9
For better prospects	17
Dissatisfied with conditions	9
Other reasons	20

Some gave more than one reason.

10. *Would you like your son or daughter to have a job at the town hall or Council offices?*

Yes	..	..	..	43
No..	..	..	..	39
Do not know	..	..	..	18

Commenting on the enquiry, the May, 1957, issue of Public Service, the journal of the National and Local Government Officers Association, says :

It would, of course, be foolish to attach too much weight to the exact figures. Many people, faced with a sudden inquiry of this kind, will give the answer they think is expected of them, rather than the honest answer; whilst, as every reader of law reports knows, a straight "Yes" or "No" can cover many shades of meaning and unstated qualifications.

Nevertheless, allowing for these distorting factors, the results are both significant and revealing. What are their main lessons?

The first, surely, is to underline the need for more and better public relations by Local Authorities themselves. Local government prides itself on being democratic—the nearest we have yet reached to Lincoln's famous definition: "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." But can it be government by the people when up to one-quarter of the people have only the haziest notion of what it does, when two-thirds want to know more, and when between one-quarter and two-fifths admit to taking no part in the process by which they are supposed to control it? Can it be government for the people when more than one-quarter are dissatisfied with the services it provides? More information about how local government works, what it does, and why it does it, is clearly needed: and since four-fifths declare that they follow Council affairs in the press, that is the obvious medium. If Local Authorities and newspapers will take this lesson to heart, increasing their supply of information about local government, another quiz in a few years' time should give different and more encouraging answers.

And not the Local Authorities alone. N.A.L.G.O. too, it is clear, must improve and expand its own public relations service for and about its local government members. In general, officers came well out of the inquiry, with four-fifths of those who remembered having dealings with them expressing satisfaction. But they have no cause for complacency. Though most citizens come into direct contact with local government officers many times every year—if only when they change their library books—no more than one-third realised that they had done so and, of those, one-fifth were dissatisfied. Though only one-fifth of those who are, or have been, employed in local government consider its pay and working conditions good, two-fifths of all householders think of it as a good career for their children. Here is another ripe field for more information.

Thirdly, the inquiry underlined the profound dissatisfaction with the service felt by its employees. Eleven years ago, the Local Authorities emblazoned their ambition to be in "the first flight of good employers."

INTEREST IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Yet today, only 17 per cent. of their present and 19 per cent. of their past employees describe their pay and working conditions as good, whilst 33 and 38 per cent. respectively think they are definitely bad: of those who have left, two-thirds did so for better pay and conditions.

These are perhaps the most significant of the lessons of the inquiry: many more will be apparent to all who study the answers carefully—and particularly when they compare them with the results published in local areas, some of which show striking and intriguing differences from the national average.

INSTITUTE NEWS

The President

At a recent meeting the Executive Council unanimously decided to invite Lord Waverley to continue as the Institute's President for the next three years. Lord Waverley accepted this invitation and assured the Council that he was glad to place his services at the Institute's disposal. Members will have learnt with regret of Lord Waverley's recent illness involving an operation and will be glad to know that he is now well on the way to recovery. He hopes to visit Canada in the autumn.

Members in the Birthday Honours List

MR. W. E. DUNK, Chairman of the Australian Commonwealth Public Service Board and founder President of the Canberra Regional Group, received a knighthood in the Birthday Honours List, and Mr. R. S. McDougall, County Treasurer of Hertfordshire and a member of the Executive Council, was awarded the C.B.E. Mr. McDougall is to take up a new appointment in the autumn, when he will become General Manager of Stevenage New Town.

Appointments in the Nationalised Industries

SIR HENRY SELF, one of the Institute's Vice-Presidents, has recently been appointed Chairman of the Electricity Council which has been set up under the recent Electricity Act. The Minister of Power also announced at the same time that Mr. Ernest Long, one of the Institute's Trustees and a former Chairman of the Executive Council, was to be a member of Central Electricity Generating Board. Mr. J. V. Wood, Staff Member of the Northumberland and Cumberland Divisional Coal Board and until recently Chairman of the Institute's Northern Regional Group, has been appointed Director-General of Industrial Relations in the National Coal Board and takes up his appointment in November.

Sir Charles Cunningham's New Appointment

SIR CHARLES CUNNINGHAM, Secretary to the Scottish Home Department and since 1953 Chairman of the Edinburgh and East of Scotland Regional Group, has been appointed Permanent Under Secretary of State at the Home Office in succession to Sir Frank Newsam. The Edinburgh Regional Group held a complimentary dinner for Sir Charles on Wednesday, 25th September, to mark their appreciation of his service to the Group. Among the principal speakers were Sir David Milne, who proposed a toast to the Institute, and Mr. S. G. Williams, Chairman of the Executive Council, who responded.

Visits Abroad

MR. D. N. CHESTER, Professor S. E. Finer and Dr. R. T. McKenzie, were at the round table on Pressure Groups of the International Political Science Association, held at Pittsburgh early in September.

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INSTITUTE NEWS

Mr. R. S. McDougall, to whom reference has already been made, visited the Fiji Islands during April to July to conduct a survey of the system of Fiji provincial finance, with particular reference to the relationship between the Fiji Administration and the Central Government.

Mr. G. M. Stephens, Chairman of the Birmingham Regional Group, has recently spent four months in Nigeria on secondment to the Electricity Corporation there.

Mr. A. H. Hanson, Reader in Public Administration in the University of Leeds, spent a month in Nigeria, organising a Summer School on the Public Corporation at the University College of Ibadan, and in visiting a number of the nationally-owned enterprises in the various Regions.

Overseas Appointments

DR. L. C. HILL, one of the Institute's Vice-Presidents, recently took up an appointment as Senior Administrative Officer, Local Government, to help implement the scheme for developing Local Government in British Guiana, recommended by Dr. A. H. Marshall in 1953. Dr. Hill hopes that it may be possible to start a Regional Group of the Institute in British Guiana and that this Group may form a nucleus for the Caribbean area.

George Lach, who was the Institute's Director from 1947 to 1949, has accepted an appointment with the Canadian National Railways. On leaving the Institute, Mr. Lach joined British Road Services, and more recently has been Assistant Personnel Manager with B.E.A. In his new post he will work with the Vice-President (Personnel).

University Lecturer's Work in Civil Service

ANDREW DUNSIRE, a Lecturer in Public Administration in the University of Exeter and until recently Secretary to the Institute's Regional Group there, is among the first persons to take part in an interesting new arrangement whereby university teachers, particularly those in the field of Public Administration, are given an opportunity to work in Government Departments for periods of two years. Mr. Dunsire took up duty with the Ministry of Transport and Civil Aviation in September. In the United States teachers of Public Administration are not infrequently invited to serve for periods of several years in senior governmental positions. It is unlikely that this British development will go so far, but it should provide a useful background of practical experience for those engaged in the study and teaching of Public Administration in the universities.

A New Diploma in Government Administration

THE R.I.P.A. co-operated with N.A.L.G.O. in the 1920s in securing the introduction of Diplomas in Public Administration in the University of London and in other British universities. Since the end of the War the situation has been greatly altered by the decision of the University of London to raise the standard of its D.P.A. to the post-graduate level and by the introduction of the Diploma in Municipal Administration under the aegis of the Local Government Examinations Board. The Institute has been investigating the possibility of providing a facility similar to the D.M.A.

for civil servants. It has now secured the introduction of a new Diploma in Government Administration which derives from the D.M.A. and will be organised by the L.G.E.B. Details of this new Diploma can be obtained from the Institute. In order to ensure its suitability for civil servants, the Board will be advised by a Civil Service Examinations Committee on which the Institute is represented by Sir Albert Day and the Director.

I.A.S. Round Table in Opatija, Yugoslavia

SIR ALBERT DAY, a Vice-President of the International Institute of Administrative Sciences, and Mr. S. G. Williams represented the Institute at this Round Table, which took place from 20th to 25th June. Miss E. M. Foster, who is a member of the Brighton Group and a former member of the Institute's Executive Council, also attended. All reports suggest that the 150 delegates from 29 nations received a very friendly welcome in Opatija—an attractive resort on the shores of the Adriatic—which afforded an ideal setting for the discussions. It was satisfactory to learn that leading roles were taken during the Round Table by F. J. Tickner, a former Assistant Secretary in the Treasury, and now Deputy Director, Public Administration Division, United Nations Technical Assistance Administration, and by Dr. Brian Chapman of Manchester University, who distinguished himself as Rapporteur of the Study Group concerned with "Present trends in connection with the transfer of power from greater authorities to lesser authorities separate from them and *vice versa*." J. Dunkley of H.M. Treasury, who also attended the Round Table, made an important contribution to the session devoted to "Automation and the relevant problems in Public Administration Agencies."

The social activities arranged by the Yugoslavs included a reception by the Mayor of Opatija on a boat cruising in the Gulf of Kvarner, a visit to the Postojna Grottoes, and, on the last evening, a banquet arranged by the Executive Council of the Peoples Republic of Croatia. The Institute's official delegates felt therefore that not only had an enjoyable Round Table taken place, but that Great Britain had been able to make positive marks on the study sessions.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Organization of British Central Government, 1914-1956

Edited by D. N. CHESTER, written by F. M. G. WILLSON. George Allen and Unwin for Royal Institute of Public Administration, 1957. 32s. (25s. to members of the Institute ordering direct).

THIS book—presenting the results of a survey by a Study Group of the R.I.P.A. of the changes which have taken place in the broad organisation of central government in Britain between the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 and the end of 1956—is the product of a planning and supervising group (with perhaps thoughts in mind of the Haldane Committee of forty years ago) encouraged initially by Sir Henry Self and then “chaired” by Mr. D. N. Chester, with an obviously efficient and enthusiastic Secretary in the person of Mr. F. M. G. Willson, a holder of the Gwilym Gibbon Fellowship at Nuffield College. The other members of the Study Group were eight senior serving or retired public officials, with two academic members.

The first thing to be said about the book is that throughout there is a pronounced air of authority and exactitude: the membership of the Group would doubtless produce and account for such an air in any book that they jointly sponsored, but the foundation of their work in this instance was the outcome of a noteworthy measure of active co-operation on the part of the principal Government Departments. In the first place, each major Department contributed a memorandum on the changes which have taken place in its own field during the period since 1914: then the drafts of the various sections, after undergoing revision, were in many cases sent to the Departments: and, meanwhile, departmental liaison officers were available for consultation. It is pleasant to see that the Institute has in this way received the encouragement of the official world. The Group were able also to consult freely “other knowledgeable persons” and it clear from the copious notes (including an extensive bibliographical one) that the authors had before them a very large amount of material with which to conduct

their survey.

The book is well planned. An introduction explains what is meant by “central government” (broadly, the Ministers who form Her Majesty’s Government and the administrative and executive Departments over which they preside) and by “organisation” (the number of Departments and the distribution of functions between them). Then follows a useful chapter giving three “panoramic” views of the central administration—in 1914, 1935 and 1956—with tables giving at each period a list of the Ministers and of their Departments. Next come seven chapters dividing between them in appropriate groups the various fields of governmental activity. Each of these chapters is prefaced by a helpful and very pleasantly written introductory describing and expounding in general terms the governmental relationship to the matters which form the subject of the chapter itself. They are followed by a description and examination of the development of “co-ordinative devices and institutions” in a chapter with the significant title “The Central Co-ordination of Government.” In the tenth and final chapter, which is “neither part of the narrative nor an appraisal of administrative growth and organisation,” the group—with, no doubt, appropriate relish—move out of the departmental atmosphere and, with encouragement derived from Aristotle and Haldane, proceed to discuss the factors which influence the distribution of functions, to reflect on the way in which problems of governmental organisation can be handled, and to construct an analysis which, while drawing upon the earlier narrative, “introduces more general theoretical considerations.”

A study of the three “panoramic” views shows that the significant periods of change were: (a) from the outbreak of war in 1914 to 1922, a period marked by a great and for the most part hurried

expansion of governmental organisation and activity during the war (the outstanding example is the throwing together early in 1915 of a number of people—civil servants and “outsiders”—to form the Ministry of Munitions, with far-reaching powers over industry, destined soon to become “an administrative colossus”), followed by very rapid contraction as soon as war ended and by a number of changes enforced by the emergence of greater governmental interest in and responsibility for the national economy (for example, separate Departments for Mines and for Transport) and for national welfare (for example, the creation of a Ministry of Health and great enlargement of the functions of the newly-formed Ministry of Labour); (b) a period of tranquillity from 1922 to 1939; and (c) the war-enforced expansion and development from 1939, followed by some tidying-away of some war creations (but not to the same relative extent as after the First World War) and then by further expansion as a sequence to the policies of the Labour Government of 1945.

Of the seven chapters dealing with particular functions or groups of functions, that dealing with “Finance, Trade and Industry” is—as would be expected from its very wide scope—by far the largest. It traces the changes in organisation brought about by the movement away from *laissez faire* towards ever-growing contact between government on the one hand and financial, industrial and commercial interests on the other hand. The rate at which the extent and degree of contact have grown is shown to have varied throughout the period under review: omitting the war years and the immediate post-war relaxation of controls, etc., the growth has been continuous, the pace increasing considerably during the 30s (due mainly to the effects of labour unrest after 1919, the deflationary influences in the early 20s and the severe unemployment which followed the general strike and miners’ strike of 1926) and increasing again in the years following the Second World War.

The greatly increased interest of government in the national economy has not resulted in marked changes in the structure of the Treasury (except at the top, where recently Joint Secretaries have been appointed—an experiment whose

degree of success or failure cannot yet be measured) or of the Boards of Inland Revenue and Customs and Excise, despite the vast increase in government expenditure and in the taxation required to meet it. There have, of course, been large increases in staff. It may well surprise many of the general readers of the book to find that, out of 84 pages devoted to “Finance, Trade and Industry,” only four are devoted to “Finance”: it must be remembered, however, that the book is not concerned to assess or to explain the theory (still less the practice under ‘contemporary conditions’) of Treasury control and the authors are able comfortably to proceed to other matters after recording that “in few other areas of British central government have there been more determined or more successful efforts to cope with a tremendous change of scale without altering the shape of the Departments concerned.”

The “economic” Departments in which the greatest changes have occurred since 1914 are those grouped under Trade and Industry. Of these, the Board of Trade has undergone the most development, and, despite the creation of separate Departments for Transport and Power, it remains the *doyen* of the Trade and Industry Departments and its responsibilities have steadily become more extensive and important.

In the introductory to the “Finance, Trade and Industry” Departments (a piece of masterly exposition and good draftsmanship), the view is expressed that what evolved during the Second World War—due to close relationship between government and the national bodies representative of both sides of industry—and what, despite all political changes, has continued and is likely to continue, “was a mutual realisation of the benefits which might accrue to the nation by a partnership between government and industrial interests.” This, apart from moving somewhat away from governmental structure, seems to be a non-historical judgment upon something that has not yet stood the test of time or adequate experience: it seems too soon, for example, to assume that the “mutual realisation” will necessarily result in the measures of agreement needed to correct the present disequilibrium in the national economy. The organisations established by employers

BOOK REVIEWS

and by the trade unions, including the two very representative bodies—the National Productive Advisory Council on Industry and the Minister of Labour's National Joint Advisory Council—do indeed provide ample facilities for discussion and consultation, but there seems to be little evidence so far that the "mutual realisation" is likely to result in the active steps needed, for instance, to create conditions in which the problem of inflation can be solved.

The chapter on Social Services shows how the central governmental organisations (with their regional and local offices) have been adapted to provide and maintain the conception of the Welfare State. Numbers of staff are not necessarily a precise measure of increased scope or additional functions, but the growth of the numbers employed in the Social Service Departments since 1914 (9,500 in 1914: 41,000 in 1935: 83,000 in 1956) can be taken as a reasonable measure of the increase in the contact between government and the citizen. It is the extent and intensity of this nation-wide day-to-day contact between the agencies of government and the people that distinguishes the end of the period from the beginning. The machinery of government has been expanded and rearranged to provide for this contact and for its supervision, and the increased size of the Civil Service as compared with 1914 is largely due to the requirements of distributing the benefits of the Welfare State and collecting the revenues needed to provide for them.

Omitting the Cabinet itself and the Committee of Imperial Defence, but remembering that the Treasury (if only because of its control over the finances of the other departments) has always had a special "central" position, the first important step towards the effective "central co-ordination of government" was the creation of the small War Cabinet in the First World War. The Cabinet was aided by the establishment at the same time of the War Cabinet Secretariat, and although after the war normal Cabinets became the rule, the Secretariat remained a permanent part of central government. Contact between the Treasury and the Cabinet Secretariat has, both by necessity and by choice, been of the closest nature and the combination of the two—the one in many respects the complement of the other—has provided the Prime Minister

with an effective instrument for use in relation both to policy and administration. The recent rearrangement combining in one person a Joint Secretary to the Treasury and Secretary to the Cabinet has not yet been in operation long enough to show its value as a co-ordinative factor.

The developments in the field of co-ordination in regard to both civil affairs and defence are admirably recounted in the chapter on co-ordination and the recital shows the great extent to which the Cabinet of the day is served in all the main spheres of governmental activity by inter-departmental Ministerial and other Committees and sub-committees, all of which seem to have been fitted easily into the government machine and to show once more how flexible the British constitution has always proved to be. These co-ordinative arrangements have become of ever-growing importance owing to the great increase of business with which modern governments are called upon to deal and the much more rapid way (much too rapid, in fact) in which Ministers travel about, to and fro, between the various capitals of the world, conferring and consulting, with—one suspects—all too little time in between for reflection.

In their last chapter the authors proceed to analyse the main factors influencing the distribution of functions under two headings—(a) the number of Ministers and (b) the grouping of functions. As each function of the central government must be the responsibility of some Minister responsible to Parliament, it follows that all the functions must be distributed among a group of Ministers. Any thought about the over-all organisation must take into account the desirability on the one hand of not adding to the number of Ministers (if only in order to avoid an unwieldy Cabinet) and on the other hand the need to avoid overburdening any given Minister or his senior staff. One conclusion is that "on the whole, in view of the great increase in governmental activity during the last forty years, it is remarkable that the number of Ministers has been kept so low." The impression, which is general, that recent lists of Ministers are much longer than used to be the case is no doubt due to the modern practice of appointing "Ministers of State" to assist some of the more senior Ministers and of duplicating Parliamentary Secretaries in many

Departments. As regards the grouping of functions, the constitutional requirement that each function must be the responsibility of a Minister answerable to Parliament has as a corollary that the distribution of functions between Ministers must as far as possible be such as to make it clear—to Parliament, the public, and the Cabinet itself—who is responsible for any major issue of governmental policy. Of the two main alternative ways in which governmental powers and activities may be grouped for administrative purposes ((1) by class of persons dealt with and (2) by major purpose or particular service rendered) the conclusion offered is that distribution according to purpose or particular service rendered "gives on the whole a greater unity of work at the policy level than any other criteria."

In practice decisions as to redistribution of functions or assignment of responsibility for new functions have often been influenced as much if not more by such apparently irrelevant factors as political and personal considerations, or pressure of public opinion or sections of it, as by careful study of alternative niches within the general framework. Advice upon these matters has been, and is, available to the Prime Minister from the Treasury, but it is likely that in future, as in the past, consideration of that advice, even if it should incorporate the views of the non-official element suggested by the present authors, will not be unaffected by advice from other quarters. Meanwhile, however, there has been developed within the Treasury and elsewhere a more definite acceptance of the need for conscious consideration of the adjustment of the machinery of government from time to time, over and above what might be needed to provide for any new functions.

One would like to think that the changes described in this book by Mr. Chester and his colleagues were the result of ordered consideration and conscious planning, led by and watched over by successive Prime Ministers, anxious only to secure a smooth-running governmental machine: but the fact is, as their narrative shows, that the changes throughout the period have for the most part been brought about by the inter-play of varying factors, political stresses and strains, sometimes by personal influences. Those students of the history of the British Constitution

who remember being told that an important characteristic of that constitution is its flexibility will find ample support for that view in this story of the changes in the last forty years. While in some cases there were differences of opinion, and much argument, as to ways and means, the record shows that each fresh function and each new demand was in most cases promptly met by its appropriate organisation or reorganisation, without any obvious subsequent friction. All seem to have been fitted into the structure of the central government with remarkable ease. While making this plain, the survey (perhaps because of the modesty of the majority of the Group, perhaps because it was not thought to be within the scope of the survey) omits any tribute to those senior civil servants upon whom fell the responsibility and burden of devising the organisation, or adapting an existing one, needed to put into operation some new function decided upon by Ministers of the day. Many personal and other problems must have arisen out of the need to ensure the smooth working-out of the very numerous changes: the list of them, in a useful appendix, occupies 36 pages.

The book is, of course, of interest and value principally to the teacher and student of public administration, and care has been taken by means of copious notes, supplemented by a bibliographical one, to provide material for further investigation by any who may be interested in particular developments or in special branches of government policy. The general reader, however, over and above the pleasure and profit derived from the introductory passages to the various chapters, will be helped by the method of classification adopted—e.g., Finance, Trade and Industry, Social Services, Defence, External Affairs, etc.—which will enable him to trace the development of those spheres of government in which he is interested. The chapters discussing "central co-ordination" and "handling administrative change" deal with subjects of current interest, frequently mentioned in the press and elsewhere, and will well repay reading. But few general readers and perhaps equally few students will have enough knowledge of the period covered, especially its earlier part, to be able always to appreciate the significance of the factual statements made, many of

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which relate to events which, at the time, were felt to be of considerable importance but which are described in only a sentence or two. Thus the description of the developments and changes in relation to the establishment of the Ministry of Health—nearly forty years ago—seems to take it for granted that the reader knows who Robert Morant was and what were the controversies of which he was an important element. It is not easy to see how this could have been avoided if the book was to remain of manageable size and the inquisitive reader must have

recourse to the bibliography. In any event, the present authors can fairly say that this side of affairs is more a matter for the social historian. Meanwhile, the Institute and the Group and all those who helped in the survey are to be congratulated on having produced a valuable and interesting and most readable historical document and one from which many teachers and students of the future will quarry material for lectures and essays on the working of the British Constitution.

HORACE WILSON

The Growth of Public Employment in Great Britain

By MOSES ABRAMOVITZ and VERA ELIASBERG. Princeton University Press, Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. xiii+151. 30s.

THIS American work is part of a wide investigation being carried out by the National Bureau of Economic Research to provide information in quantitative terms about the recent growth of governmental activities in various countries. The authors' intention in this volume is relatively narrow. They examine "the number of persons directly employed by government agencies" in Britain between 1890 and 1950—data which, as they admit at the outset, is "only one measure of the size of government." The "meat" of this book is thus hard statistical material, drawn mainly from census reports and from various departmental and other official publications. The Appendix bears witness to the scrupulous care which has been given to the interpretation of those sources. The text contains many formidable tables and diagrams, all admirably executed.

After some account of nineteenth-century developments, central government, local government and nationalised services are dealt with in separate chapters, and the figures given are broken down by governmental function rather than by department, type of authority, or board. This may be somewhat disappointing to those particularly concerned with public administration and its growth, but the special public for whom the work is mainly intended is that of the economists and economic historians, whose interest in administrative structure is under-

standably marginal. It should be hastily added that the book is none the less well worth perusal by administrators and students of government organisation. The data contained in it is an essential part of the historical perspective needed for an understanding of the present position and problems of the public services.

As a statistical source, therefore, this is an invaluable book. In presenting statistical material of this type, however, the problem of striking a satisfactory balance between figures and commentary is very difficult. The authors have not, perhaps, been completely successful in this connection. A considerable number of pages is devoted to explanation and to explanatory hypotheses of a rather commonplace character. Surely the numerous tables and diagrams are sufficiently eloquent to be allowed to carry their messages with a minimum of literary assistance. Chapter 6 is particularly tiresome in this respect—one table of the number of persons employed by the nationalised industries and services in 1950 is accompanied by a potted twelve-page history of our public corporations. In the final chapter, however, where the authors make a brief but stimulating comparison of government employment in this country and in the U.S.A. since 1900, an admirable balance is achieved.

F. M. G. WILLSON

Law and Orders (Second Edition)

By SIR CARLETON KEMP ALLEN. Stevens, 1956. Pp. 474. 42s.

THE first edition of this enquiry into executive powers appeared in 1945 on the eve of the General Election. The book reflected the author's right-wing leanings and not unnaturally touched off heated political discussion. In the preface to the second edition the author denies the charge that the book is a piece of political polemic, and it would certainly be unfair to describe it in such terms. It is a lucid and highly competent examination from the lawyer's viewpoint of delegated legislation and executive powers in English law. The author has been most diligent in bringing the work up to date, and mistakes are few and trivial. It is particularly useful to have in an appendix an extract from the unreported case of *Odum v. Stratton*, a striking example of an unreasonable refusal by the Crown to produce in litigation documents which would help the citizen's case.

In the main the work is rather a careful

assimilation of existing published sources than a piece of research or original comment. The author does, however, raise the interesting question why the Crown Proceedings Act of 1947, which seems so replete with textual ambiguities, has given rise only to one reported case in the ensuing ten years, and that on a small point. He suggests that a committee similar to the Scrutiny Committee should be set up to examine Ministerial circulars, as distinct from delegated legislation to be laid before Parliament, in order to discover legislative or "dictatorial" examples.

For a public administrator seeking a detailed, but not excessively technical, and attractively written survey of the problems of delegated legislation, there is nothing superior to Allen's *Law and Orders*.

HARRY STREET

The Organisation of Science in England

By D. S. L. CARDWELL. Heinemann, 1957. Pp. 204. 18s.

THE scope of this book is much wider than its title suggests. It sets out to answer the question: How did it come about that pure science, which in its early days two centuries and more ago was an affair of brilliant amateurs, gave birth to the "applied science" which is now the very life blood of modern industry? It is a commonplace that the union between science, applied science, and industrial practice has created a host of entirely new industries, such as nuclear energy, plastics, and electronics: industries which have decisively shaped our social life today and which promise (or threaten?) an ever-increasing tempo of change in the future. But little attention has hitherto been given to the social process which brought all this to pass.

A book dealing with this development in our national life is specially welcome at the present time. Once again we are faced with the need to speed up technical advance, and to overcome resistances to technical innovation. Dr. Cardwell has provided just the right kind of social

history to enable the lessons of the past to be brought to bear upon present problems.

He sets about answering the question—how was applied science born?—by considering the social setting within which its evolution took place. Science, he states, "is a variable of society and a very complicated one too; for, while many different societies have evolved advanced systems of law and philosophy and refined forms of art, only one society—our own—has possessed those vital elements which made possible the systematic and widespread development of the advanced sciences, and has succeeded, moreover, in utilising science in the solution of problems in industry and the arts."

The book sketches briefly the eighteenth-century background, and then describes in some detail the several lines of progress during the nineteenth century and up to the beginning of the 1920s. The changing pattern of education rightly figures largely in his account. Looking back now, one

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is struck by the great changes which were brought about in education during the nineteenth century, always against formidable resistance to change from many quarters. In tackling our comparable task today of increasing the output of graduates and technologists, we can take comfort from the fact that, though present difficulties may be formidable, there is now a more widespread sense of purpose and a greater measure of agreement on how to make progress than there was in those days.

Students of Dickens will remember the interest he took in Mechanics' Institutes. Dr. Cardwell has an interesting section on this movement, which was rising into prominence about the same time as Mr. Pickwick started on his immortal travels. It is interesting to speculate whether the Mechanics' Institute movement might have developed so as to give birth to the applied scientist. The primary aim of the Institutes was to increase the scientific element in technology at the expense of empirical, rule-of-thumb, or traditional skills. Maybe in the fullness of time the movement might have covered more and more of the ground between traditional skills and pure science. But an event elsewhere intervened, and in fact the applied scientist came on the scene earlier, and probably in more satisfactory guise than would have been the case if he had been the end-product of the technological education movement of the early eighteenth century.

This event was the discovery in 1856, by a young English scientist working at the Royal College of Chemistry, of the first of the aniline dyes. He had the courage and enterprise to exploit this by manufacturing the dye on a commercial scale. The really significant thing was that he died a rich man, thus giving a striking demonstration that science could pay, and pay handsomely. This Englishman, W. H. Perkin, can be numbered among the first few applied scientists of the breed with which we are now so familiar.

The story, starting so creditably for English science and enterprise, has a well-known continuation in which we can take little pride. The union between research and industry pioneered by Perkin was not taken up and extended by his fellow countrymen. Then, and too often since, English initiative was lost to the

more enterprising foreigner. It was in Germany, not in England, that the aniline dye industry forged ahead. This industry needed more and more research workers capable of tackling a host of specific problems. And the great majority of these research workers needed no more than average ability to achieve the purposes set them. Given a sound grounding in the basic sciences and an interest in using his knowledge and ability in prescribed directions, the average man could form a unit in a team which became admirably adapted to bridge the gulf between the industry and science. It was by this route rather than via the Mechanics' Institute that the applied scientist became a force of growing significance in national life.

We in England were slow to respond to the situation. But early in the first world war the facts became disconcertingly clear. We then manufactured only one-tenth of our requirements for dyestuffs; we relied on Germany for magnetos, for drugs, for tungsten, for zinc, and for many other products of industries served by applied scientists—industries which had forged ahead in Germany, but not here.

In this situation, government intervention in a big way became imperative. In 1914 the Government created the British Dyestuffs Corporation. A year later a Committee of the Privy Council was formed with the object of instituting specific researches, establishing special institutions for applied science, and establishing research studentships and fellowships. From this came the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research and many educational developments.

Dr. Cardwell has produced an interesting and stimulating study, and he whets the reader's appetite for more. Not for more about the period up to the 1920s, for the book covers that period with satisfying completeness. But the study needs to be carried forward to the present day, with the aim of clarifying the issues on which depend whether or not we are to get, in the ever-increasing numbers needed, the applied scientists on which our standard of living (or our atomic death?) so decisively depends.

It is to be hoped that the Nuffield Foundation, which enabled Dr. Cardwell to undertake this work, will see fit to sponsor the writing of a worthy sequel.

K. T. SPENCER

T.V.A. The First Twenty Years—A Staff Report

Edited by ROSCOE C. MARTIN. University of Alabama Press and University of Tennessee Press, 1956. Pp. xiii+282. \$4.50.

THE Tennessee Valley Authority is perhaps the most original administrative achievement of the twentieth century. It has attracted universal interest, and received the flattery of widespread imitation. In almost every region where a river valley is capable of multi-purpose development, something equivalent to a T.V.A. has been established or is being projected—Damodar and Mahanadi in India, Gal Oya in Ceylon, Niger in French West Africa, Snowy Mountains in Australia, Papaloapan in Mexico, Sao Francisco in Brazil, Caroni in Venezuela. Every year the list of T.V.A.-type projects grows longer. It might be longer still if river valley development was not so often frustrated by political conflicts, as with the Jordan and the Nile.

The prototype authority is now 24 years old. The volume here reviewed is based on a series of lectures, delivered at the Florida State University, to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of its foundation. "Celebrate" is indeed the operative word, for those who seek an objective appraisal of the Authority's record will have to go elsewhere. All the lecturers have been associated with the T.V.A. in an official capacity, and display that dedicated enthusiasm for the project which we have come to regard as typical of the T.V.A.-man—a quality very largely responsible for the T.V.A.'s outstanding success and also for a tendency, well illustrated here, to dismiss all criticisms of the Authority's record as ill-informed when not ill-intentioned. In view of the fact that much criticism *has* been of this kind, one can sympathise with their determination to justify the ways of T.V.A. to men. It requires doing, particularly in view of the fact that Congressional appropriations towards T.V.A.'s still very considerable capital construction costs "have come more and more grudgingly with the passing of time." Hence, as Mr. Harry Curtis says in his introduction, we have here "no impartial-on-the-one-hand-but-then-again-on-the-other account of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Here, on the contrary, is an analysis by a devoted group of men who participated responsibly in the forging

of T.V.A."

Unfortunately, the "analysis" turns out to be little more than another success-story. There is, admittedly, a great deal of useful information, particularly of the statistical sort, which gives the book value as a work of reference. But all the lecturers are saying things that we have heard many times before—from the same sources. These things, one may agree, are worth saying, but they can hardly bear indefinite repetition. Not until we reach the last chapter, specially contributed by the Editor, do we begin to make contact with the problems that confront T.V.A. today, and then we find ourselves left with a series of very pertinent questions, most of which are not answered even in a tentative way. What is the T.V.A.'s future as a power-producer, now that the hydro-electric productivity of its dams can be no further developed? Should it continue with "resource-development," or is this side of its activities to be "further diminished or eliminated"? Is fertiliser-production by the T.V.A. to remain "a basic element in the total regional program," or should the Authority, as some of its critics demand, "divest itself of its fertiliser plants and disclaim further responsibility in this field"? What, if anything, should the T.V.A. do to continue to promote the industrialisation of the region, which still lags behind the rest of the country in industrial development and *per capita* income? Is this agency, which has virtually completed its original assignment, to be regarded as a permanent part of the governmental set-up, offering an example of new forms of federal-state-local co-operation? Is it to remain a public corporation? Is it to continue to attempt to give unified leadership to the developmental efforts of the region? One wishes that questions of this sort had been clearly posed at the *beginning* of the book and that the various experts had been mobilised to answer them. The answers would certainly not have been impartial, but they would have been no less interesting for that.

On the administrative aspects of T.V.A. there are three chapters, well written but tantalisingly short. That on

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"Financial Administration," by John H. Clark, is the most informative. Those on "Administrative Foundations" and "Personnel Administration" do little more than explain T.V.A.'s already familiar administrative "philosophy" and summarise its administrative practices. The gospel of Mary Parker Follett, as interpreted by Gordon Clapp, is very much to the fore. We are told, for instance, that T.V.A. believes "in the inherent dignity and worth of the individual employee and in his capacity to carry responsibility for the advancement of the program," and that "the practical application of such a belief leads management into deliberate efforts to decentralise responsibility to the lowest possible levels; to diffuse the sources of initiative; and to give first importance to education and persuasion as the basic method of supervision." The General

Manager, we are assured, does not "give orders or make operating decisions," but simply sees "that the right minds and the right information come to bear in the right sequence." This is excellent; and if the T.V.A. has really succeeded in the incredibly difficult art "of letting facts persuade men" it has done a tremendous job, and its offices and establishments ought to become a Mecca not merely for would-be river valley developers but for all kinds of administrators. But *has it?* And, if so, how? Until the answer to these questions is developed with less verbiage and more attention to actual situations, the T.V.A.-man must not be surprised if the case-hardened administrator reacts to his preaching with a certain amount of scepticism and reserve.

A. H. HANSON

New India's Rivers

By HENRY C. HART. Orient Longmans (Calcutta), 1956. Pp. xiv+301. 25s.

OPINIONS have varied about the extent to which government schemes were responsible for raising India's agricultural production by 15 per cent. during the course of the First Five-Year Plan. Those who, like Dr. John Matthai, are sceptical about planning give the main credit to "successive good monsoons." But as crop production has not subsequently slipped back to its pre-planning *per capita* level, in spite of a deterioration in the weather, it is obvious that some virtue must be ascribed to such things as the government-promoted adoption of the Japanese method of paddy-cultivation, the provision of government-manufactured fertilisers from Sindri, and the progress of government-organised irrigation schemes. No one knows how to arrange the government's various measures for the improvement of agriculture in order of importance, and probably such an exercise would be futile, as agricultural obstacles to economic development rarely yield to anything short of a concerted, many-pronged attack. But the contribution of irrigation must be considerable, and it will undoubtedly increase as present schemes mature and new ones are started. Even the critics of planning, when they contemplate the 2.4 million hectares which have benefited

from major works and the 4 million which have benefited from minor ones, have to admit that the progress of irrigation has had something to do with the 15 per cent. increase in production.

Anyway, the Indian government is clearly convinced that irrigation should have one of the most urgent calls on its limited resources for economic development. Since Independence, it has spent some £600 million on this service—about four times as much as was invested in it during the whole period of British rule. Irrigation and power together (and it is difficult to separate them) were scheduled for 28.1 per cent. of total expenditure under the First Plan, and are scheduled for 19.0 per cent. under the Second, which is more than twice as big as the First. Some of the expenditure goes into minor schemes, such as the provision of tube-wells, but much of it is absorbed by the great multi-purpose T.V.A.-type projects, such as Damodar and Mahanadi.

These are the subject of Professor Hart's new study. As a political scientist who served for 15 years in American river projects (including seven with the T.V.A.), he is very well qualified to deal with it, and he has produced a book which is informative without being overloaded and inspiring

without being starry-eyed. He combines scholarship, experience and journalistic flair—a rare combination and a very welcome one.

For students of public administration, his most interesting chapters are those which take up the question whether multi-purpose schemes should be organised by public corporations, as with the Damodar Valley Project, or by government departments, as with Mahanadi. By good fortune, the two schemes provide an excellent opportunity for comparison, because, as the author says, "although there is an essential contrast between the two rivers, the jobs these agencies tackled are so nearly the same that their success can be measured by a common yardstick." Here, therefore, "is an opportunity no other nation possesses: to put the alternatives side by side, and select those governmental arrangements for future rivers which have turned the resources of the Damodar and Mahanadi to best account."

(pp. 145-46). One might expect Professor Hart, as an ex-T.V.A. man, to come down heavily on the side of the corporation, but his treatment of the subject is a model of scholarly caution, giving short shrift to the well-worn clichés which now clutter up the controversy about public enterprise organisation. No firm conclusions are reached, but the critical working-over of India's experiences in this field, which provides the main substance of three chapters, should henceforth be compulsory reading for all who wish to speak or write about public enterprise in under-developed countries.

In this respect, as in many others, *New India's Rivers* is a pioneer work. It will be of great value, not only to students of public administration, but to the politicians, administrators and technicians who are trying to change the face of the under-developed parts of the world.

A. H. HANSON

Youth at Work

By M. E. M. HERFORD. Max Parrish, 1956. Pp. xvi+159. 18s. 6d.

In Their Early Twenties

By T. FERGUSON and J. CUNNISON. Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. vi+110. 12s. 6d.

ARE you tired of hearing about the Needs of Youth? If you read these two books you will lose your boredom. Ferguson and Cunnison have set themselves a tremendous task in following the tracks of a group of people as they pass from boyhood to manhood. Their latest book is packed with information, comparing a group who were rejected on medical grounds by the National Service authorities with a group who chose to do their National Service as soon as possible. The authors point out that the groups are not really comparable, since those who do National Service early include a number who break apprenticeships to do so. This leads to an important finding which some workers in the field have suspected, but for which evidence is meagre: that is, that there is a decline in skill. The book shows that less than 65 per cent. of those who were in skilled work at 17 were still in such work at 22. A more thorough analysis of the reasons for entering National Service early among those who broke apprenticeships would have been useful. Clearly, overcrowding

in the home and a desire for adventure play a big part, but how much is attributable to instability of temperament?

Many long-established trends are confirmed, such as the lifelong advantage enjoyed by children from happy homes. Teachers, psychologists and Youth Employment Officers will be interested in the relationship between school assessments and retention of the status of skilled worker.

The authors were unable to produce convincing evidence that National Service has a generally harmful effect, but as a by-product, showed clearly that the selection methods used by the R.A.F. are sound.

The group who were unfit for National Service did well and rather more of them had skilled status at 22 than in the other group. This is, however, only to be expected as one-third of the "Service" group gave up apprenticeships on entry to the Services. Resumption of apprenticeship after early National Service is exceptional (in England and Wales at any

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rate). Disquieting but familiar is the way so many of poor physique are forced into heavy manual work, even today and despite the Disabled Persons Act and other helpful measures.

One immediately valuable practical result of this book ought to be to provoke a national enquiry into the retention of skilled status by those who have been trained. If we are really short of technicians and engineers, surely we should try to retain those who have been trained?

Dr. Herford's book, on the other hand, arises from concentrated personal experience in the two specialised fields of Appointed Factory Doctor and Assistant School Medical Officer in Slough which he has held as joint appointments. Acute detached observation and careful recording is automatically expected of medical research workers, and Dr. Herford does not depart from the standards in this most interesting study despite his strong belief in the need for institutional reform.

Dr. Herford's findings emphasise the great importance in the getting and holding of employment of the physical characteristics of the worker. Criteria of occupational success are notoriously hard to establish and progress in work is difficult to assess. Clearly, some apparently inexplicable changes of employment might be elucidated with medical help and this aspect may introduce an additional element in follow-up studies.

There are some findings which suggest that the Youth Employment Service is not providing real vocational guidance, but only helpful placing. In some areas this may be so and will continue to be so until Youth Employment Officers are better trained, have fewer pupils to advise and are encouraged to use aptitude tests in collaboration with schools. If this criticism, like that of Jahoda mentioned in the text, implies that the Youth Employment Service is failing in its task, then it follows that it is the duty of the Youth Employment Service to be the prime influence on the choice of occupation of boys and girls. This has never yet been claimed by those responsible for the Service. It would be more generally agreed that the prime responsibility rests on parents. The Service assists parents in the discharge of their responsibilities and helps pupils in exercising their right to choose. How far it goes in this depends on the resources in skilled staff, time and finance accorded to it. In any case, studies based upon

the boys' and girls' own recollections as to who advised them are suspect, unless official records are compared with the statements and Dr. Herford does not actually make clear whether he did this.

Institutional changes in regard to youth welfare are needed. Dr. Herford has provided valuable confirmatory evidence and many useful and practical suggestions. One could be taken a short step further. He suggests a link between the Youth Employment Service and the Appointed Factory Doctor. Since many factories give better working conditions than many offices and shops, why not combine the Review of Progress invitation with an invitation to see a Medical Officer who would provide for all young workers the kind of service Dr. Herford has been giving to factory workers in Slough? Progress Review is one of the most difficult, yet most potentially rewarding, duties of the Youth Employment Officer. County Colleges, it is said, will make it easier, but they are a long way off. Meanwhile, the cost of ill health rises and inflates taxes. Dr. Herford clearly shows that some of this could be avoided by intelligent partnership between those working with youth.

Dr. Herford's proposals for closer collaboration with the Youth Employment Service are sound and practicable and would result in a considerable improvement in the health and thus in working efficiency of the population. They would help to increase the efficiency of the Youth Employment Service and would ensure compliance with factory law which, in one particular instance, seems to be ignored on a massive scale, if this study is typical of the rest of the country. Lack of industrial knowledge was found to be a handicap by the School Medical Officers working with the Youth Employment Officers in the early days of the Birmingham experiments in scientific vocational guidance. Dr. Herford's suggestion for joint appointment with the School Medical Service therefore certainly merits examination.

These studies provide the essential stimulus for institutional changes. Students of public administration will be interested in them as examples of the background for changes in policy. And both books will be essential reading for Youth Employment Officers in training.

An index would have been helpful in Dr. Herford's book.

H. HEGINBOTHAM

Local Government in New Zealand

Edited by R. J. POLASCHEK. New Zealand Institute of Public Administration, 1957. Pp. 122. 15s. in New Zealand, 16s. elsewhere.

IN recent years much has been written about the difficulties of exporting the English system of local government to the African colonies. Such a policy is, however, as old as the British Empire. Since the colonial period of American history the contemporary system of English local government has been introduced into nearly every colony and island which the British have administered. The Caribbean still retains in general its adaptation of mid-nineteenth century English rural government, with parish vestries, *Custodes Rotulorum*, and overseers. Towns in every corner of the world have been endowed with municipal charters, carefully modelled on the English pattern, with Mayors, Town Clerks, and maces. New Zealand, in the nineteenth century, acquired hundreds, municipal corporations, county councils, and a general confusion of *ad hoc* authorities. Attempts to simplify the system have consistently failed, and today the country has over 900 Local Authorities, including 126 counties of which five have less than 1,000 people.

It is apparent that there is a general demand for reorganisation; for this purpose a Local Government Commission was established by statute in 1946, but its powers were so circumscribed by plebiscites, appeals and restrictions that it has been unable to achieve any substantial improvement. The financial structure also is complicated, with each of these authorities levying its own rates, some on capital, and some on annual value, some on improved, some on unimproved values.

It is not surprising, therefore, that New Zealanders should regard their local government systems critically, and should study the experience of England, which has so many of the same problems, and so much in common in its history. Such questions arise as whether a system of grants-in-aid should be introduced; is a local income tax possible? In the constitutional field, the question is raised whether the present single-tier system should be replaced by something more like the English model (though, confusingly, the term "county borough"

is used for what, in England, would be called a non-county borough); and should the number of counties be drastically reduced?

In May, 1956, the New Zealand Institute of Public Administration organised a conference to discuss the problems of this complicated and hampering system. Administrators, academic observers and councillors met, and heard papers read by six highly qualified experts on the subject. These papers are now reprinted, with an introduction by Mr. R. Polaschek, of Victoria University College.

The reader who is not familiar with the present situation in New Zealand would be helped by the inclusion of a short factual statement of what the existing Local Authorities are, and what they do. But apart from this, the essays give a very clear picture of the problems which arise from the present multitude of councils and boards. Of particular interest to the stranger are the chapter by W. B. Sutch on the history of local government in New Zealand, and that on its future by A. A. McLachlan, the Chairman of the Local Government Commission. It is in these particularly that one sees the general picture, and can compare the past and present problems of New Zealand and of England.

It is interesting that, in a country with so highly developed a system of social services, it is accepted with but little challenge that the burden of local taxation should fall on those who use, or benefit from, the services, rather than on those best able to pay. Here in England the Poor Law Act of 1601 established the principle of assessment according to ability to pay, rather than according to benefit received. Both principles have played their part in the development of our present system, but today the rates bear little if any relation to the use that the ratepayer makes of the local government services. Yet in New Zealand it is accepted, as Sir Bernard Ashwin says in his paper on "Financial Problems of Local Government," that "as far as practicable, services should be paid for by users in proportion to the use they make of them."

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The book is a by-product of the conference, but a very valuable by-product. The papers read were all of a high standard, and were each well worth reprinting. The New Zealand Institute of Public

Administration has done a most useful service, both in convening the conference and in publishing this symposium.

B. KEITH-LUCAS

Civic Ceremonial: A Handbook of Practice and Procedure (Second Edition)

By J. F. GARNER. Shaw and Sons, 1957. Pp. xi+154. 19s. 6d.

MANY a harassed Clerk to a Local Authority, confronted by a question of procedure or precedence, must have cause to be grateful to the late Mr. F. G. Garner and his son, the present Town Clerk of Andover, for this book. Here may be found, not only the rules laid down by authority, but existing civic practice, ascertained by extensive inquiry. It can safely be said that any relevant questions that go unanswered here can be resolved by the ordinary considerations of courtesy and good manners.

It is not surprising that the book, which was first published in 1953, has gone into a second edition; and as in due time there will no doubt be a third, it may be worth while to respond to an invitation contained in the preface, to make a few suggestions with particular reference to the choice of historical authorities. Mr. and Mrs. Webb were not, and never claimed to be, learned in the early history of boroughs; and to select, as they do, the possession of a separate commission of the peace as the distinguishing mark of a borough is not very satisfactory; for though most if not all boroughs had a separate commission, there must have been a number of liberties having a separate commission which were not boroughs. The Soke of Peterborough, for example, had a separate commission before the town became a municipal borough. There is more of value in Professor Tait's *Medieval English Borough* or, for a short introduction, in Lady Stenton's Pelican volume, *English Society in the Early Middle Ages*. The claim that Thetford was the first Mayortown, quoted from elsewhere, cannot be taken seriously. On page 74 the long quotation from *The Manual of the Mace* seems to me to derive from Jewitt and Hope's *Corporation Plate and Insignia of Office* (whether with acknowledgments I do not know), and Mr. Garner could

make a better summary himself.

But these matters do not affect the usefulness of the book. It raises many points of interest which it might be worth while to collect. As a contribution I note a few which have arisen in my own city of Lincoln. The city is a county corporate, with its own Sheriff and its own assize, deriving from a charter of Henry IV; and it has not abandoned its right to impanel its own jury to try its own crime. Some counties of towns, among them I believe Hull and Poole, do not assert such right, and in practice it is not so easy to do so where the county corporate is not an assize town. Until a few years ago the judge named in the commission of assize was escorted to the Lincoln city court by the Sheriff of the county at large, who accompanied him on the bench. Clearly this could not be admitted as a claim of right: the Sheriff of the county at large has no right of entry into the county of the city, and it has now been established that the City Sheriff calls on the judge at his lodgings, attends him to the city assize, and then escorts him to the Castle, where the Sheriff of the county awaits him. The "High" Sheriff is only so called by custom and perhaps for social reasons. Even the great authority of John Stow will hardly support the statement, quoted on page 91, that the Borough Sheriff is not in the same position as the Sheriff of the county, because, he says, the Borough Sheriff is subordinate to the Mayor, whilst the County Sheriff is responsible only to the Crown. Whatever the position may be in the City of London of which Stow (who was not a lawyer) wrote, it is submitted that all other Sheriffs have the same powers and duties on behalf of the Crown, the only difference being that whilst in the county at large the sovereign personally "pricks" the Sheriff, the borough enjoys by royal charter the right to 'appoint its own.

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But he is not subordinate to the Mayor; his duties, set out on page 92, relate to matters in which the Mayor has no right to interfere.

Is the Mayor "the official representative of the Crown"? (see page 9). It may be true in the sense that all authority derives from the Crown, but the Mayor is not a royal servant in the way that the Lord Lieutenant or the Sheriff is a royal servant. These officers are chosen by the Crown directly or under powers granted by the Crown. Unlike their offices the mayoralty is of popular origin. The point is illustrated in the first days of the mayoralty in Lincoln when the senior bailiff (the predecessor of the Sheriff) held also the office of Mayor. In 1216, King John appointed certain citizens to be bailiffs, and in 1217 he confirmed the senior of them as Mayor; he was to be *your* Mayor and *our* bailiff, said the King to the citizens.

A few years ago the incoming Mayor of Lincoln, who by custom is invited to

submit a nomination to the office of Sheriff which is almost always accepted, nominated the City Coroner as Sheriff. The question whether the two offices could be held together was a nice one, and was much discussed. It seemed that any clash of function could be avoided if the Coroner did not personally conduct any inquest which was likely to be followed by criminal proceedings at assizes; and even if he did the clash would be more theoretical than real. The Home Office was consulted, and replied that the appointment was to be deprecated; but by the time that the advice was received the year of office of the Coroner-Sheriff was well advanced. The oddest exercise of the Mayor-elect's privilege of nominating the Sheriff that I recall was the proposal by one gentleman of his wife as Sheriff; but it did not seem to the City Council necessary to consult anybody before declining the nomination.

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BOOK NOTES

Statistics for Government

Political and Economic Planning, 1957.
Pp. 27. 2s. 6d.

THIS pamphlet surveys the statistical information at present available to the Government as a basis for assessing the state of the economy and forecasting future developments. The emphasis is now on the study of broad trends rather than on the collection of detailed information about individual commodities. In this context the pamphlet makes certain suggestions for further improvements in coverage and presentation.

Public Authorities' Stores, Small Plant and Tools Accounting and Control

I.M.T.A., 1957. Pp. vi+117. 15s.

A RESEARCH group of the I.M.T.A. is responsible for this comprehensive study of the problems of stores accounting in the public services. Throughout the study the emphasis is on reconciling economy in administration with the need for adequate control over materials. The appendices contain a description of a mechanised stores accounting system in a large public works department of a county borough, and the text of a detailed questionnaire which was completed by the finance officers of Local Authorities of various types, of gas and electricity boards, and of hospital authorities.

Recent books on public finance

THIS year has witnessed the publication by Shaw and Sons of two important new manuals on internal audit and of a second edition of a standard work on housing finance. All three are written by Mr. W. L. Abernethy, either alone or with the assistance of other contributors.

Internal Audit in Local Authorities and Hospitals (pp. viii+379, 37s. 6d.) provides a practical guide for all who are responsible for controlling receipts and disbursements in these types of public authority. After setting out the relevant statutory provisions, the book deals in some detail with the various matter to be covered by internal audit, such as receipts and

payments, stocks and stores, wages and salaries, and contracts. A chapter on mechanisation is followed by others devoted to the internal audit of hospitals and of the main services for which Local Authorities are responsible.

Internal Audit in the Public Boards (pp. vii+189, 27s. 6d.), for which Mr. Abernethy had the collaboration of Mr. E. N. Judge and Mr. F. W. Johnson, forms a companion to the previous volume and follows the same plan. Chapters on the main aspects of audit work are followed by two on audit in the electricity and gas industries by Mr. Judge and Mr. Johnson respectively.

In the second edition of *Housing Finance and Accounts* (pp. xi+264, 30s.), Mr. Abernethy and Mr. A. R. Holmes provide an authoritative and up-to-date account of the financial and accounting requirements relating to the construction and management of Local Authority housing estates. As well as dealing with subsidies, rents, rates and taxes, the book covers the problems of housing management and accounts, of capital finance, and of negotiating contracts. The chapters on new and expanded towns have been brought up to date.

The Welfare State

By WILLIAM A. ROBSON. Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. 19. 2s. 6d.

IN this twenty-sixth L. T. Hobhouse Memorial Trust Lecture, Professor Robson describes the basic assumptions and history of the welfare state, and its achievements to date. In conclusion, he poses a number of questions, the answers to which will determine its future development.

Le Fonctionnement des Entreprises Nationalisées en France

By M. BOITEUX, etc. Librairie Dalloz, 1956. Pp. 415. No price shown.

IN June, 1955, the Faculty of Law at Grenoble held a colloquium on the French nationalised industries. Some 18 papers were presented and discussed by

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professors, representatives of the various industries and trade unionists. This volume contains both the papers and a resumé of the discussions. Legal, management and economic problems of the industries are covered in this most useful work.

Rochester: The Quest for Quality 1890-1925

By BLAKE MCKELVEY. Harvard University Press, Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. xiv+432. 48s.

THIS is the third of the series of volumes chronicling the history of Rochester, New York. It forms an impressive record both of industrial advance and of civic and cultural achievement during an epoch which witnessed the impact of the internal combustion engine, the assimilation of the second-generation Americans, and American participation in a world conflict.

Public Administration

Journal of the Australian Regional Groups (Sydney). 5s. per copy.

THE March, 1957, issue is a special number concerned solely with public enterprise in Australia. Three of the articles deal generally with the public corporation. The other four deal with electricity, water, the rural bank of New

South Wales and the National Airlines Commission.

Administration

Dublin. 15s. for four issues.

AMONG recent numbers of this journal, the one for Winter, 1956-57, deals solely with Organisation and Management in the Public Service. There are articles on Fayol, Follett, Barnard and Simon, and much about Urwick. A most useful number.

Public Service Board— Commonwealth of Australia

Thirty-Second Report, 1955-56. Canberra.

As usual the Board's report is a most interesting and readable document and to the stranger at least provides a great deal of information on all the aspects of the Commonwealth Civil Service and, in particular, on the work of the Board. Of the staff of the Board, 26 per cent. of its time is concerned with inspection, 22 per cent. with recruitment, and 14 per cent. with arbitration and conditions of service.

There is information about O & M work carried out by the Board in various Departments and some interesting data about recent changes in salaries and conditions.

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

The following official publications issued by H.M.S.O. are of particular interest to those engaged in, or studying, public administration. The documents are available in the Library of the Institute.

ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNALS AND ENQUIRIES, COMMITTEE ON

Appendix I to the minutes of evidence. Memoranda submitted by persons and organisations who did not give oral evidence. pp. 124. 1957. 4s. 6d.

Appendix II to the minutes of evidence. Supplementary memoranda submitted by witnesses who gave oral evidence. pp. 128-87. 2s. 6d.

ADMIRALTY

Explanatory statement on the Navy estimates 1957-58 by the First Lord of the Admiralty. Cmnd. 151. pp. 23. 1957. 1s. 3d.

AGRICULTURAL LAND COMMISSION

Accounts 1955-56. H.C. 114. pp. 15. 1957. 9d.

AIR MINISTRY

Air estimates 1957-58. H.C. 137. pp. 248. 1957. 9s. 6d.

Memorandum by the Secretary of State for Air to accompany Air Estimates 1957-58. Cmnd. 149. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

CENTRAL HEALTH SERVICES COUNCIL

Report for the year ended 31st December, 1956, and Statement by the Minister of Health. H.C. 161. pp. 19. 1957. 1s. 3d.

CENTRAL TRANSPORT CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE FOR GREAT BRITAIN

Annual report for the year ended 31st December, 1956. H.C. 123. pp. 14. 1957. 9d.

CHARITY COMMISSIONERS

One hundred and fourth report of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, 1956. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

CIVIL APPROPRIATION ACCOUNTS, SESSION 1955-56

Appropriation accounts of the sums granted by Parliament for Civil Services, Classes VI-X, for the year ended 31st March, 1956. H.C. 24. pp. xlviii, 260. 1956. 12s.

CIVIL ESTIMATES 1956-57

Revised supplementary estimate of the further sum required to be voted for the year ended 31st March, 1957, for agricultural and food grants and subsidies: fifteen million six hundred thousand pounds. H.C. 98. pp. 5. 1957. 6d.

Statement of excesses. Sums required to be voted in order to make good excesses on certain grants for Civil Services for the year ended 31st March, 1956: thirty pounds. H.C. 99. pp. 3. 1957. 4d.

CIVIL ESTIMATES 1957-58

Class I: Central government and finance. H.C. 88-I. pp. 108, xvi. 1957. 6s.

Class II: Commonwealth and foreign. H.C. 88-II. pp. 110, xiv. 1957. 6s.

Class III: Home Department, law and justice. H.C. 88-III. pp. 143, xvi. 1957. 6s.

Class IV: Education and broadcasting. H.C. 88-IV. pp. 97, xvi. 1957. 6s.

Class V: Health, housing and local government. H.C. 88-V. pp. 155, xvi. 1957. 7s.

Class VI: Trade, labour and supply. H.C. 88-VI. pp. 118, xvi. 1957. 6s.

Class VII: Common services (works, stationery, etc.). H.C. 88-VII. pp. 105, xvi. 1957. 6s.

Class VIII: Agriculture and food. H.C. 88-VIII. pp. 154, xvi. 1957. 7s.

Class IX: Transport, power, and industrial research. H.C. 88-IX. pp. 111, xvi. 1957. 6s.

Class X: Pensions, National Insurance and National Assistance. H.C. 88-X. pp. 58, xvi. 1957. 4s. 6d.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

CIVIL ESTIMATES AND ESTIMATES FOR THE REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, 1957-58

Memorandum by the Financial Secretary to the Treasury and Tables. H.C. 88-Memo. pp. 43. 1957. 2s. 6d.

Index. H.C. 88-Ind. pp. 36. 1957. 2s.

CIVIL SERVICE NATIONAL WHITLEY COUNCIL

Reorganisation Committee: final report. pp. 13. 1921, reprinted 1956. 2s.

COAL INDUSTRY NATIONALISATION ACT, 1946

Account 1955-56. H.C. 145. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Report and accounts for 1956. H.C. 151. pp. v, 57. 1957. 3s.

Report includes details of eight new projects—Amalgamated Engineering Co. Ltd., Nigeria, Coastal Hotels Ltd., Kenya, etc.—with an index to these.

COLONIAL OFFICE

Appointments in Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service and other appointments in Colonial and overseas territories. pp. 83. Bibliog. 1957. 3s.

The East Africa High Commission. Annual report 1956. Colonial No. 331. pp. 87. Illus. 1957. 6s.

Colonial No. 329—Malta: interim report of the Economic Commission. pp. 37. 1957. 1s. 9d.

Colonial No. 332—Malta: report of the Economic Commission. pp. 35. 1957. 1s. 6d.

Colonial No. 330. Report of the Federation of Malaya Constitutional Commission, 1957. pp. 112. 1957. 8s.

Report of the Singapore Constitutional Conference held in London in March and April, 1957. Cmnd. 147. pp. 19. 1957. 1s.

COMMISSIONERS OF CROWN LANDS

Abstract accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 65. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

CORONA

March-June, 1957. 1s. 6d. monthly.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE, CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

European conference of local authorities: documents and texts adopted. First session, 12th-14th January, 1957. pp. iii, 64. 1957. 3s. 6d.

DEFENCE, MINISTRY OF

Defence: outline of future policy. Cmnd. 124. pp. 10. 1957. 9d.

Defence statistics 1957-58. Cmnd. 130. pp. 7. 1957. 6d.

Ministry of Defence estimate 1957-58. H.C. 87. pp. 19. 1957. 1s. 3d.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE FOR SCOTLAND

Agriculture in Scotland. The report of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland for 1956. Cmnd. 145. pp. 106. 11 illus. 1957. 5s.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH FOR SCOTLAND

Housing return for Scotland, 31st March, 1957. Cmnd. 156. pp. 15. 1957. 1s.

National Health Service Superannuation Scheme—allocation of pension: explanatory memorandum with tables prepared by the Government Actuary. pp. 25. 1957. 1s.

Report of the Department of Health for Scotland 1956. Cmnd. 140. pp. 147. 1957. 5s. 6d.

DEPARTMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

Report of the National Physical Laboratory for 1956. pp. vii, 104. Illus. 1957. 5s.

DEVELOPMENT FUND

Accounts 1955-56. H.C. 66. pp. 13. 1957. 9d.

DIGEST OF COLONIAL STATISTICS

March-April, 1957. 6s. monthly.

DIGEST OF SCOTTISH STATISTICS

April, 1957. Monthly. 4s.

ECONOMIC TRENDS

February-May, 1957. 2s. 6d. monthly.

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

EDUCATION, MINISTRY OF

Memorandum on the Ministry of Education estimates, 1957-58. Cmnd. 99. pp. 8. 1957. 6d.

The supply and training of teachers for technical colleges. Report of a Special Committee appointed by the Minister of Education in September, 1956. pp. xiv, 67. 1957. 4s.

ESTIMATES FOR REVENUE DEPARTMENTS, 1957-58

Estimates for revenue departments for the year ending 31st March, 1958. H.C. 88-XI. pp. 75, xvi. 1957. 4s. 6d.

FOREIGN OFFICE

Miscellaneous No. 8 (1957)—First annual report of the Council of Association between the U.K. Government and the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community (with annexes), 17th November, 1955, to 31st December, 1956. Cmnd. 116. pp. 23. 1957. 1s. 3d.

FORESTRY COMMISSION

Report on forest research for the year ended March, 1956. pp. vii, 172. Tabs. 1957. 6s.

GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE

Statistical review of England and Wales for the year 1955: Part II. Tables. Civil. pp. x, 191. 1957. 7s. 6d.

Statistical review of England and Wales for the year 1954: Part III. Commentary. pp. xii, 227. 1957. 8s.

HEALTH, MINISTRY OF, AND CENTRAL HEALTH SERVICES COUNCIL

Interim report of the Committee on Hospital Supplies. pp. 15. 1957. 9d.

HOME OFFICE

Inquiry into certain allegations made by the Civil Service Union relating to the Carlisle and District State Management Scheme. Report by Mr. C. S. Burt, Q.C. Cmnd. 168. pp. 18. 1957. 1s.

Prisons and Borstals. Statement of policy and practice in the administration of Prisons and Borstal Institutions in England and Wales. pp. 99. 16 illus. Revised edition, 1957. 5s.

Third edition of report published in 1945. Mr. Herbert Morrison's original foreword is printed as an introduction to this revised and expanded edition. A very full account of prison and Borstal conditions is given.

Royal Fine Art Commission. Fourteenth report for 1955 and 1956. Cmnd. 70. pp. 19. 1957. 1s.

HOSPITAL ENDOWMENTS FUND

Account for the year ended 31st March, 1956. H.C. 94. pp. 11. 1957. 8d.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, STANDING COMMITTEE B

Minutes of proceedings on the National Insurance Bill. H.C. 140. pp. 5. 1957. 6d.

HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT, MINISTRY OF

Housing return for England and Wales, 31st March, 1957. Cmnd. 155. pp. 7. 1957. 6d. (Appendix, 3s.)

Local government. Functions of County Councils and County District Councils in England and Wales. Cmnd 161. pp. 8. 1957. 8d.

Model bylaws series IV: buildings (1953 edition). pp. 80. 1953. Reprinted 1957. 3s.

Model bylaws, series XIV: cemeteries. pp. 4. 1957. 4d.

Public cleansing: refuse collection and disposal: street cleansing: costing returns 1955-56. pp. 56. 1957. 5s.

Publicity for local government. Final report. pp. 16. 1950. Reprinted 1956. 1s.

JOURNAL OF AFRICAN ADMINISTRATION

April, 1957. Quarterly. 2s. 6d. each issue.

LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE, MINISTRY OF

Industrial Courts Act, 1919. Report of a Court of Inquiry into the dispute between employers who are members of the Shipbuilding Employers' Federation and workmen who are members of Trade Unions affiliated to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. Cmnd. 160. pp. 26. 1957. 1s. 3d.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Industrial Disputes Tribunal Award No. 963.—Observance of recognised terms and conditions of employment in respect of their Town Clerk by the Newcastle upon Tyne Corporation. pp. 5. 1957. 6d.

Report of a Court of Inquiry into the causes and circumstances of a dispute at Briggs Motor Bodies Limited, Dagenham, existing between the Ford Motor Company Limited and members of the Trade Unions represented on the Trade Union side of the Ford National Joint Negotiating Committee. Cmnd. 131. pp. 35. 1957. 1s. 6d.

Report of a Court of Inquiry into the causes and circumstances of a dispute between the British Overseas Airways Corporation and the Merchant Navy and Airline Officers' Association. Cmnd. 105. pp. 18. 1957. 1s.

LEGAL AID AND ADVICE ACT, 1949

Report of Law Society on legal aid under the Legal Aid and Advice Act, 1949. pp. vi, 201. 1956. 7s. 6d.

Account, 1955-56. H.C. 146. pp. 8. 1957. 6d.

LOCAL LOANS FUND

Accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 106. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

LORD CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE

Sixth report of the Law Society on the operation and finance of Part I of the Legal Aid and Advice Act, 1949, and the comments and recommendations made by the Advisory Committee. pp. 58. 1957. 3s.

LORD PRESIDENT'S OFFICE

Forestry, agriculture and marginal land. A report by the Natural Resources (Technical) Committee. pp. v, 67. 1957. 4s.

MENTAL ILLNESS

Royal Commission on the law relating to mental illness and mental deficiency, 1954-57. Report. Cmnd. 169. pp. x, 306. Folding table. 1957. 10s. 6d.

Commission examines attitude to mental illness and to certification, administrative organisation of mental health service. Recommends abolition of Board of Control and of Board-

appointed Visitors. Draws attention to need for new legislation in this field.

MONOPOLIES AND RESTRICTIVE PRACTICES COMMISSION

Report on the supply and exports of electrical and allied machinery and plant. H.C. 42. pp. vi, 353. 2 folding tabs. 1957. 11s. 6d.

MONTHLY DIGEST OF STATISTICS

February-April, 1957. 5s. monthly.

NATIONAL COAL BOARD

Report and accounts for 1956. Volume I—Reports; Volume II—Accounts and statistical tables. H.C. 176-I, 176-II. 1957. 5s. and 7s. 6d.

NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE ACTS, 1946 to 1952

Accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 130. pp. vii, 41. Folding tabs. 1957. 3s.

NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE (SCOTLAND) ACTS, 1947 to 1952

Accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 131. pp. iv, 27. 1957. 2s.

NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT, 1946

Sixth interim report by the Government Actuary for the year ended 31st March, 1956. H.C. 172. pp. 6. 1957. 6d.

NATIONAL PARKS COMMISSION

National Park Guides, No. 1—Dartmoor. pp. xi, 67. Illus., folding map in pocket. 1957. 5s.

NATIONAL RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Report and statement of accounts for the year 1st July, 1955 to 30th June, 1956. H.C. 107. pp. 16. 1957. 1s.

NAVY APPROPRIATION ACCOUNT

Appropriation Account of the sums granted by Parliament for the year ended 31st March, 1956. . . . (In continuation of H.C. 172 of 1955-56.) H.C. 67. pp. ix, 46. 1957. 2s. 6d.

NAVY ESTIMATES, 1957-58

H.C. 138. pp. 318. 1957. 11s. 6d.

RECENT GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

NEW TOWNS ACTS, 1946 and 1955

Accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 171. pp. vi, 317. 1957. 13s.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANISATION, INFORMATION DIVISION

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. pp. 76. Charts. Fifth edition. 1957. 2s.

NORTH OF SCOTLAND HYDRO-ELECTRIC BOARD

Report and accounts, 1st January, 1956, to 31st December, 1956. H.C. 77. pp. 71. 1957. 4s.

ORGANISATION FOR EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION, PARIS

The training of workers within the factory : survey of industrial in-plant training programmes in seven European countries. Project No. 179. pp. 90. 1957. 6s.

POWER, MINISTRY OF, AND SCOTTISH OFFICE

Capital investment in the coal, gas and electricity industries. Cmnd. 132. pp. 10. 1957. 8d.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS, COMMITTEE OF

First report from the Committee, session 1956-57—Excess votes. H.C. 93. pp. 3. 1957. 4d.

Second report from the Committee, session 1956-57—Virement between votes of Service Departments, session 1956-57. H.C. 190. pp. 3. 1957. 4d.

ROAD FUND

Accounts, 1955-56. H.C. 68. 1957. 6d.

ROYAL NAVAL PRIZE FUND

Account, 1955-56. H.C. 113. pp. 2. 1957. 4d.

SCOTTISH EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Education in Scotland in 1956. A report of the Secretary of State for Scotland. Cmnd. 162. pp. 144. 1957. 5s. 6d.

SCOTTISH HEALTH SERVICES COUNCIL

Report of the Scottish Health Services Council, 1956. pp. 18. 1957. 1s.

SCOTTISH HOME DEPARTMENT

Criminal statistics, Scotland, 1956. Statistics relating to police apprehensions and criminal proceedings for the year 1956. Cmnd. 157. pp. 55. 1957. 3s. 6d.

Industry and employment in Scotland and Scottish roads report, 1956. Cmnd. 125. pp. 54. 1957. 3s.

Report of Her Majesty's Inspector of Fire Services for Scotland for 1956. Cmnd. 152. pp. 16. 1957. 9d.

Return of rates in Scotland, 1955-56 and 1956-57 ; rateable values, 1956-57 ; population and area, 1956. pp. 15. 1957. 1s.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON ESTIMATES

Development Areas. Third special report. Session 1956-57. H.C. 135. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

Works and buildings of the service departments—Observations of the Secretary of State for War on the third report of the Select Committee . . . ; Ministry of Works, Directorate General of Works—Observations of the Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury and the Minister of Works on the fifth report of the Select Committee on Estimates in Session 1955-56. Second special report. H.C. 102. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

Index to the second report. Session 1956-57. H.C. 34-Index. pp. 6. 1956. 9d.

Index to the third report. Session 1956-57. H.C. 60-Index. pp. 10. 1957. 1s. 3d.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON PROCEDURE

First report from the Committee. H.C. 110. pp. x, 63. 1957. 4s.

SOUTH OF SCOTLAND ELECTRICITY BOARD

Report and accounts, 1956, including the report of the Electricity Consultative Council for the South of Scotland District. H.C. 104. pp. vi, 49. 1957. 3s. 6d.

TRADE, BOARD OF

Monopolies and Restrictive Practices Acts, 1948 and 1953. Annual report for the year ending 31st December, 1956. H.C. 97. pp. 30. 1957. 1s. 4d.

TRANSPORT AND CIVIL AVIATION, MINISTRY OF

Report on the administration of the Road

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Fund for the year 1955-56. pp. 25. 1957. 4s. 6d.

TRANSPORT USERS' CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE FOR SCOTLAND

Annual report for the year ended 31st December, 1956. H.C. 124. pp. 9. 1957. 8d.

TRANSPORT USERS' CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE FOR WALES AND MONMOUTHSHIRE

Annual report for the year ended 31st December, 1956. H.C. 125. pp. 8. 1957. 8d.

TREASURY

Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom and Export-Import Bank of Washington dated 25th February, 1957, providing for a line of credit not to exceed \$500,000,000. Cmnd. 104. pp. 10. 1957. 8d.

Disabled persons in government employment. Cmnd. 90. pp. 2. 1957. 3d.

Financial statement (1957-58). H.C. 134. pp. 30. 1957. 1s. 9d.

Preliminary estimates of national income and expenditure, 1951-56. Cmnd. 123. pp. 12. 1957. 9d.

Public income and expenditure for the year ended 31st March, 1957. H.C. 160. pp. 8. 1957. 6d.

Staffs employed in government departments . . . on 1st January, 1957. Cmnd. 89. pp. 3. 1957. 4d.

Staffs employed in government departments . . . on 1st April, 1957. Cmnd. 184. pp. 2. 1957. 4d.

United Kingdom balance of payments, 1946-56 (No. 2). Cmnd. 122. pp. 55. 1957. 2s. 3d.

University Grants Committee. University development: interim report on the years 1952 to 1956. Cmnd. 79. pp. 25. 1957. 1s. 3d.

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS

Account of all sums received from and paid to the trustees during the year ended 20th November, 1956. pp. 4. 1957. 4d.

UNESCO

International bibliography of political science: Vol. IV. pp. 309. 1957. 30s.

Publications from more countries have been included in this fourth volume than in previous volumes. Classification has been revised, and titles grouped according to subject rather than country.

International bibliography of sociology: Vol. V. pp. 293. 1957. 30s.

Bibliography is one item in the general programme of the Internal Committee for Social Science Documentation which was set up in 1950 with help of U.N.E.S.C.O. to encourage development of "all bibliographical and documentary activities relating to the social sciences." Special attention is paid in this volume to official government publications.

UNITED KINGDOM

ATOMIC ENERGY AUTHORITY

Balance sheet of the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority as at 31st March, 1956. . . . (In continuation of House of Commons Paper No. 283 of 1955-56.) H.C. 170. pp. 7. 1957. 6d.

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Building Apprenticeship and Training Council. Final report. pp. 93. 1957. 4s.

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